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Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

JEWISH COINS.

THE pages of the Numismatic Chronicle have not for some time been filled with any papers on the Jewish coinage. Whether the cause of this neglect be the absence of art so peculiar to these coins, or the difficulty there is in their decipherment and classification, it is not necessary to speculate. Suffice it to say, that Jewish coins, notwithstanding the impetus that was given to the study of this class some years since, have received of late very little attention.

By those, therefore, who have made this interesting and difficult branch of Numismatics their particular study, the recent paper by M. F. de Saulcy must be warmly welcomed.

I propose to speak of the coins published by De Saulcy in their historical order.

JOHN HYRCANUS.

De Saulcy publishes nineteen varieties of the coins of this Jewish prince. I may remark as regards the reading of the legend on Nos. 13, 14 and 15, *i.e.* "John the high-priest and head of the confederation of Jews," that the word "confederation" was proposed by Dr. Levy, and not by Cavedoni.

JUDAS ARISTOBULUS.

On the seven varieties (Nos. 20 to 26) published by De Saulcy there may be found the words כהן גדול (*Cohen Gadol*) and not כהן גלול (*Cohen Galul*.) This latter reading has already received a fair share of remark.¹

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, ALEXANDER II., AND HYRCANUS II.

Numbers 27 to 41 are varieties of the coins of Alexander Jannæus.

De Saulcy publishes (No. 47) a piece which he attributes to John Hyrcanus II., and to the period of the reign of this prince comprised between the years B.C. 69 to 66 or B.C. 63 to 57. Its description as given is:—

Obv.— . . ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ. Anchor within a circle.

Rev.— נקדמ (very clear). In the field a star.

De Saulcy remarks that this fragment of legend can only be completed by reading יהוחנן המלך (*Jehochanan Hammelek*).

Now I have no wish to say that this reading is incorrect, but the second word, *Hammelek*, is supplied from the two letters . . . המ. Unless the מ is so clearly defined as to leave no doubt, it seems to me that the letters might equally well be דב, the original letters being somewhat alike. In this case, the word would be דבכהן *Hakkohen*.

A somewhat similar coin was published in 1864 by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt,² on the obverse of which are the letters ΞΑ? (or ΣΑ), and on the reverse the legend

¹ "Jewish Coinage," p. 62; Num. Chron., n.s., vol. v. p. 343.

² Num. Chron., n.s., vol. iv. p. 176.

[יהון כ] *Jonathan Cohen*, and was attributed by him to Hyrcanus II.

Now the important question to decide, is the correct reading of the Greek letters on the obverse. How does De Saulcy propose to supply the deficiency? If Mr. Reichardt be correct in his reading, ΞA (or ΣA), and M. De Saulcy in his, $A\Sigma IAE\Omega\Sigma$ —then the complete reading may be $BA\Sigma IAE\Omega\Sigma A\Lambda\Theta\Xi AN\Delta POY$. If it is not to be so interpreted, does De Saulcy suppose that $YPKANOY$ is the word to be supplied? I confess that I am unable to offer a solution of the difficulty, though I am in favour of classing these coins with the mass of small pieces attributed by some to Alexander Jannæus, by others to Alexander II.

Of these latter De Saulcy has published two examples (42 and 43), but leaves their attribution undecided.

Judging from history, it seems very doubtful whether Alexander II., who was never king, ever struck coins, especially bearing that title, and it would seem more probable, and as has been often suggested, and is again reiterated by M. de Saulcy in his present paper, that the type adopted by Alexander Jannæus was perpetuated during the subsequent reigns, though the names of the reigning prince might be different.

Should this be the case, I suppose it will be necessary to attribute to Alexander Jannæus the remarkable coins published in 1864 by Reichardt,³ which I am rather surprised have not been noticed by De Saulcy in alluding to this period of the Jewish history. They are remarkable from having the Greek name *Alexander* repeated in Hebrew characters (עלצדרעש, *Alexadras*, or עלכצדרעש, *Alekxadras*), instead of the Jewish name of the issuer of the coin.

³ Num. Chron., n.s., vol. iv. p. 175.

It is evident that we must wait for more perfect examples of this portion of the Jewish coinage before any real and satisfactory conclusion can possibly be attained.

If, on the one hand, there is much uncertainty respecting the attribution of the aforementioned pieces, there is, on the other hand, great satisfaction in being able to assure ourselves of the correct attribution of some coins to Hyrcanus II., an attribution for which Numismatists are indebted to De Saulcy.

Under the numbers 44 and 45, De Saulcy publishes some pieces bearing the legend

יהוחנן הכהן הגדל החבר היחד

Jehochanan Hakkoken Haggadol Hacheber Hajehudim, which, as he remarks, would at first sight seem to belong to John Hyrcanus. The rare coin, however, in the possession of the Count de Vogüé, which in place of the name יהוחנן, *Jehochanan*, bears that of מנחמיה, *Mattathias* (Antigonus), but which is in other respects identical, proves without doubt that these pieces must be attributed to Hyrcanus II., and in all probability were issued in the year B.C. 41, the year before the accession of Antigonus.

Of No. 46 a more perfect specimen must be obtained before either its reading or its attribution can be determined.

ANTIGONUS.

Some small copper pieces, bearing for type on one side what was supposed to be four trees, and on the other a candelabrum with seven branches, were published by M. De Vogüé in 1860,⁴ and from their similarity to other

⁴ Rev. Num., 1860, p. 291, Pl. xiii. No. 8.

coins bearing the legend "Mohammed [is the] Apostle of God," were attributed by him "to the period which separates the Arab coinage from the coinage of the first money of the Caliph Abd-el-Melik."⁵

⁵ I also published this coin, with others of a kindred character, in my work ("Jewish Coinage," p. 231). The reviewer of my book in the *Morning Post* (Sept. 28th, 1864) considered the account of these Arab coins confused and unsatisfactory. "How should," he says, "any money have been coined before the first? The figures, supposed to be caliphs, increase the difficulty. It is well known that the law of Mohammed forbade all imitation of the human form, and that for more than seventy years after the Hegira his successors obediently abstained from all coinage. The want of a circulating medium for these vast dominions, after they had exhausted the plunder of conquered realms, compelled Abd-el-Melik, in A.D. 695, to issue national coins, and he employed a Jew named Somyor as his first mint-master. He probably commenced his work at Jerusalem, and it is not likely that there were any Mohammedan coins prior to this date." De Saulcy's classification of the coins bearing figures of a caliph ("Num. Jud.," p. 188; "Jewish Coinage," p. 230), seems to be justified by the following passages from the Arab historian, El Makrizy, who, speaking of Moavia, says, "He struck *dinars*, on which he was represented girded with a sword;" and, a little further, in recording that El Hedjadj received the orders of Abd-el-Melik to commence in Irak the fabrication of Mussulman pieces, directed by the Jew Somair, adds, "These coins having circulated to Medina, where there were still some of the companions of the Prophet, they only disapproved of the types, for they bore figures" (*Traité des Monnaies Mussulmanes*, translated by M. Silvestre de Sacy from the Arabic of El Makrizy. Paris, 8vo., 1797, pp. 15, 18). From these statements, and from their great similarity to the Byzantine coinage of the period, it would seem probable that they were struck in the earlier part of the reign of Abd-el-Melik, who, towards the year 76 (= A.D. 695) gave up figures (*Lettres de Baron Marchant*. Paris, 1851; note by M. A. de Longpérier, pp. 14, 15; cf. Gibbon, ed. Smith, vol. vi. p. 377, note a), and issued gold and silver pieces, employing a Jew as his mint-master. It would, therefore, seem correct to say that these coins were the first copper pieces struck in Jerusalem by the conquering Arabs, and that they were struck during the period which separates the Arab conquest from the coining of the first money of the caliph Ab-el-Melik.

The piece now published by De Saulcy (No. 50) proves this attribution to be incorrect, and that these coins should be assigned to Antigonus. The word מַתְּתִיָּה (portion of Mattathias) occurs on the obverse, and the letters ΣΑΝ (ΒΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΓ) on the reverse. De Saulcy suggests that what has been taken for the four trees is only the four feet of the table of shew-bread.

I must congratulate M. de Saulcy on the discovery of this interesting novelty.

ARCHELAUS.

No. 63. The remark of De Saulcy respecting the trident in front of the prow on some coins of Archelaus (De Saulcy, Pl. vii. No. 2; Madden, p. 92. No. 2) is very probable. He suggests that it is only an ω (omega), and that this letter is a portion of the word ΗΡΩΔΑ.

HEROD ANTIPAS.

De Saulcy publishes several interesting varieties of the coins of this Jewish prince.

AGRIPPA I.

In a P.S. De Saulcy says—"I have again collected a large number of the coins of Agrippa with the umbrella, 100 at least! All, without exception, are dated year VI., L.ς. I persist then more than ever to deny the other dates which have been published."

I have nothing more to say on this question. It now rests with M. Reichardt to produce his two coins with other dates. I might suggest that he should forward them to the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle for a careful examination.

HEROD I.

The various examples published by De Saulcy are interesting, inasmuch as they add to or correct the coins of Herod I. as at present known. A more perfect example of No. 56 must, however, be obtained before its attribution can be accepted as certain.

THE TWO REVOLTS OF THE JEWS.

M. de Saulcy commences this portion of his paper by saying that he persists more than ever in attributing to the first revolt, that is to say, the one which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, only the small coins having for type a vase with cover, bearing for date the year 2; and a vase without cover, with date year 3. As to all others, he attributes them without one exception to the revolt of Barcochab.

So far so good.

M. de Saulcy then proceeds to publish some varieties of the coins of this period, and it is of those described under the Nos. 64, 65, and 68 that I would say a few words.

Speaking of 64 and 65 De Saulcy says: "The similarity of these two pieces, of which one of the sides has been struck from the same die, and of which one—according to Madden—would belong to the first revolt, whilst the other would be of the second, shows that this theory will not bear examination."

Of 68, De Saulcy says: "Madden attributes this piece to the first revolt and to Simon-bar-Gioras; it belongs certainly neither to the one nor to the other."

I must take exception to these passages.

De Saulcy's paper bears date "the 9th of October,

1870." Four years previously (in 1866) I published a paper on "The Coins of the Two Revolts of the Jews," in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S. vol. vi. p. 36) in which I reconsidered the whole question, and *restored to Barcochab the very coins of which De Saulcy now writes.*

The Numismatic Chronicle has, I own, a limited circulation, and is probably not consulted by any but Numismatists. I do, however, maintain that De Saulcy, as a Numismatist, should have examined its pages to see if anything had been written of a novel character since the publication of my work in 1864.

I have no intention in this article to rediscuss the question, nor does De Saulcy's paper give occasion for me to do so. My views were fully given in my paper published in 1866, and nothing that I have at present seen has been written since that year to warrant me reopening the subject. I then expressed the hope—which I now reiterate—that Numismatists interested in Jewish coins *will well consider all that has been written upon the question*, with a view of obtaining, if practicable, a correct classification of the later period of Jewish coinage.

F. W. MADDEN.

April 10th, 1872.

II.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF ARTAVASDES II., KING OF ARMENIA.

IN the cabinet of the late Mr. Woodhouse, which on his death in 1866 he bequeathed to the British Museum, is a coin which throws a little light over one of the darkest parts of all history—the annals of ancient Armenia after the death of Tigranes the last King of Syria.

The fall of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor before the rapidly increasing power of Rome placed Armenia in an exceedingly unpleasant position. On this side the Parthians, on that the Romans, each a young and mighty power, were rapidly extending their borders. A collision between the two was inevitable, and as the natural boundary between them lay through the mountains of Armenia, nothing seemed more likely than that this comparatively feeble power would be trampled to death beneath the feet of the contending continents. This danger, however, brought a large immediate increase of importance and dignity to the princes of the line of Tigranes, who could feel that they held the balance, and were in a position to give preponderance to the influence of either power in the eastern part of Asia Minor.

Unfortunately the accounts handed down to us of those times are not much to be relied on, because they

come mostly from a purely European source. Tacitus and Dion Cassius have each preserved for us a list of kings, supposed to have governed Armenia chiefly in the Roman interest; and yet it appears, from the accounts of native historians, that during all this time there were independent kings on the throne, by name Archam and Abgar.

We can only reconcile the very different statements of native and Roman historians by supposing that the kings whose deeds are dwelt on by the former ruled a remoter and more secure part of their native dominions, while the more accessible parts of Armenia were overrun by the Roman or Parthian armies. It would seem that there must have been two dynasties reigning at once; and the assertion of Moses¹ of Khoren, that Abgar son of Archam, the nephew of Tigranes, established a dynasty ruling from Edessa, would tend to show that the southern parts of Armenia were less under foreign influence than the rest. Certainty in these matters is scarcely attainable; but from the complete silence of native writers as to the kings mentioned by the Roman historians, we may be almost sure that the latter have magnified the influence and successes of their compatriots in this part of Asia. Still it cannot be doubted that part of Armenia was ruled by the kings whose successions and wars are narrated by Tacitus and Dion. To begin with the account of Tacitus.² "Vonones," he says (the deposed Parthian monarch), "sought an asylum in Armenia, at that time in a state of anarchy, and not to be relied on as an adherent either of Parthia or Rome, in consequence of the crime of Antonius, who by counterfeiting friendship

¹ Moïse de Khorène. French trans., liv. ii. ch. 27.

² Tacitus, "Ann.," ii. 8. Trans. by Beesley.

had entrapped Artavasdes, King of the Armenians, then loaded him with fetters; and ended by putting him to death. His son, Artaxias, whose affection for his father made him our mortal foe, found a shield for himself and his kingdom in the power of the Arsacidæ. He was assassinated by his kinsmen; and Tigranes, being appointed to Armenia by Cæsar, was, under the escort of Tiberius Nero, put in possession of his sovereignty. Tigranes, however, did not reign long, nor did his children, though they observed the barbarous custom of intermarriage and joint sovereignty.

“By order of Augustus, Artavasdes was next raised to the throne, but was deposed; and not without disastrous consequences to us. This caused the appointment of Caius Cæsar, to adjust the affairs of Armenia, and he set up Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, whose extreme personal beauty and brilliant ability made the appointment a most popular one with the Armenians. When he had been accidentally killed, they refused to submit to his children; and, after trying the experiment of a female sovereign, named Erato, whom they soon deposed, being irresolute, disorganized, and in a state of anarchy rather than freedom, they placed the wanderer, Vonones, on the throne.”

I make so long an extract from Tacitus because his account is clear and doubtless in the main correct. Dion Cassius tells the same story up to a certain point. He too relates that Antonius entrapped and put to death Artavasdes I., the son and successor of Tigranes; that the throne was at once seized by his son, Artaxias (whom in one place³ Dion seems to call Artavasdes also), and held by means of succour from Parthia. This prince, as Dion

³ Dion Cassius, lib. liv. c. 9.

proceeds to state,⁴ had a not unnatural dislike for the Romans, and by him all the Roman residents in Armenia were massacred. The wrath of Augustus was naturally roused at this piece of barbarism, and he seized the pretext of a request from certain Armenian nobles to send Tiberius with an army and orders to dethrone the Armenian king, and put in his place Tigranes II., who had been a hostage at Rome. The task of Tiberius was made an easy one by the assassination of Artaxias before the Roman army reached Armenia.⁵ The reign of Tigranes, however, soon came to an end. He perished in a war with the barbarous tribes of the frontier. And at this point the account of Dion diverges from that of Tacitus. I have already quoted the account of the latter writer. The former asserts that Tigranes was succeeded by the Queen, Erato. When she had lost the kingdom, the Romans tried to set up as ruler Ariobarzanes, a Mede and refugee at Rome.⁶ The Armenians, however, joined the Parthians in resistance to this interference, and in front of one of their fortresses Caius Cæsar was treacherously wounded. Ultimately, Ariobarzanes was established by Roman arms; and at his death Augustus set up his son, Artabazes or Artavasdes. At the death, Dion proceeds,⁷ of Artaxes (who must be either this Artabazes or his son), Artabanus the Parthian gave Armenia to his son, Arsaces, and afterwards to Mithradates the Iberian.

It will be seen that Dion and Tacitus cannot be reconciled in their accounts of the names and fates of the successors of Tigranes. Tacitus makes Artabazus the successor of that monarch, followed in order by Ario-

⁴ Dion Cassius, lib. li. c. 16.

⁶ Ibid., lib. lv. c. 10a.

⁵ Ibid., lib. liv. c. 9.

⁷ Ibid., lib. lviii. c. 26.

barzanes and Erato; Dion says that the order of these reigns was as follows: Tigranes, Erato, Ariobarzanes, and Artabazus. Nor is it possible to reconcile these accounts, except by assuming a second Erato and a second Artabazus. Let us turn to the monument of Ancyra,⁸ a more trustworthy record than either of the above. This monument relates that Augustus set up in Armenia Tigranes, son of Artavasdes I.; and afterwards, when the Armenians had revolted, Ariobarzanes and his son Artavasdes in succession. Unfortunately, the coins of Augustus give but little information, the inscriptions and types of two of them (Pl. I., Nos. 5 and 6) show that the Emperor interfered successfully in Armenia, but that is all.

I have recapitulated all the important evidence to be found bearing on the history of Armenia at this period, and can only regret that it is not more decisive. In particular, although it is quite established that the account of Tacitus, as far as the death of Tigranes II., is correct, yet it is very strange that he alone mentions an Artavasdes or Artabazus as holding the throne for a while before the appointment of C. Cæsar in the East.

At this point I must pause, to lay before the reader the coin which is the subject of the present essay. It will be found engraved (Pl. I., No. 7), and may be described as follows:—

Obv.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ. Head of the king, diademed, right. Border of dots.

Rev.—□ ΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, laureate, right. Border of dots. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$ (Mionnet); weight 54·7 grs. Art poor.

Before further considering the historical bearing of this coin, I may notice one or two interesting peculiari-

⁸ Boeckh., "Corp. Inscr.," No. 4040.

ties in it. It is evidently framed on the model of a Roman denarius, and shows nothing but Roman influence. Thus the name of Artavasdes is strangely spelt, the Y having both the form and force of the Latin V. The term Evergetes as applied to Augustus, is noteworthy; nowhere else, as I understand, does it occur in this age, and a curious illustration is afforded of the passage in the Gospel of St. Luke, c. xxii. v. 25—*οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖται καλοῦνται*. As Ptolemæus Evergetes II. had at this time been a century and a half dead, it is interesting to find his surname revived in the remote region of Armenia at a time close to the birth of our Lord.

That the head on the reverse of this coin is that of Augustus seems certain, both from its likeness to that on his coins, and from the use of the term ΘΕΟΣ. Even as early as this the Greek cities of the East were not ashamed to bestow the title ΘΕΟΣ on eminent Romans; thus the words ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ occur on the coins of Pergamus, and the words ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ are used of Livia on the coins of Sidon. The title of Great King, which was before assumed by Tigranes II. (see Pl. I., No. 3) was taken by the kings of Armenia, because of the power of subordinate feudatories who under them ruled the districts of Armenia.⁹ I have also had engraved, for purposes of comparison, two coins of Artavasdes I. (Pl. I., Nos. 1 and 2), and one struck under the protectorate of Germanicus (Pl. I., No. 4), the latter of which is very similar in style and size to the Roman denarius.¹⁰

To return to the historical question, it is quite certain that the present coin was struck between B.C. 10 and A.D. 14; but whether it was struck under that prince, who

⁹ Langlois, "Numismatique de l'Arménie," p. 36.

¹⁰ I have taken the liberty of borrowing these illustrations from M. Langlois' complete work on the coins of Armenia.

is said by Tacitus to have been "*nec sine clade nostrorum dejectus*," previous to the expedition of C. Cæsar, or whether under the son of Ariobarzanes, must remain doubtful. My own theory, based on the account of Tacitus, is this—that during the anarchy which followed on the death of Tigranes II., the Roman generals in Asia Minor set up a prince of the blood royal, named Artavasdes, and coined money, in his name and with his effigy, at some town of Syria, wherewith to pay the troops with which they supported his pretensions to the throne of Armenia. These troops were defeated, and the prince disappears from history. This defeat was at once followed by the expedition of C. Cæsar in B.C. 6, the result of which was the establishment of Ariobarzanes and his son. The further reasons with which I can support this theory are the following:—Firstly, the head of Augustus is youthful, and seems to belong rather to a period before than after B.C. 6. Secondly, the style of the coin, and its unlikeness to all the money of Armenia, except the one coin of Germanicus struck under similar circumstances to those I suppose, render it probable that it was not meant for circulation in Armenia so much as among Roman legionaries. At least, it is certainly the work of Roman artists, and far more resembles the coinage of a military usurper than that of one who, like Artavasdes, the son of Ariobarzanes, succeeded to the throne of a father.

Thus, if Tacitus is right, and there was a King Artavasdes in Armenia before 6 B.C., I think that to this prince the present coin must be attributed; but if Tacitus is wrong, and has antedated the reign of the son of Ariobarzanes, in any case it must be considered as the first and only coin yet published of Artavasdes II.

PERCY GARDNER.

III.

NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE SCOTTISH COINAGE.

No. I.

THOUGH a great deal has been done during the last thirty years to correct the errors and clear away the difficulties of the earlier writers on Scottish Numismatics, there are many points which are still involved in considerable obscurity. Nor is this to be wondered at, when it is remembered that the most valuable materials necessary for fully illustrating the history of the Scottish coinage are not now available; and the Acts of Parliament and other public records which remain, leave many difficult points untouched.

Under such circumstances, the incidental references scattered through contemporary annals and records may afford valuable assistance when it is not possible to obtain more authoritative evidence. The following memoranda are taken in a great measure from such sources, and it is hoped may prove of some use to those who are interested in this study. It is necessary to premise that they must be received with different degrees of authority; nor can any particular rule be laid down on this point beyond the general one, that the nearer an author is to

the time of which he writes, the more likely he is to be correct in matters such as these.

The early history of the Scottish money is involved in great obscurity. We possess no historical evidence on which any reliance can be placed, till a comparatively late period. The notices which are found in the early chronicles are more curious than trustworthy.

Lesly assures us that Reutha, a very early King of Scotland, made money of leather:—"Nummum ex corio bubulo cudi jussit."¹

Buchanan gives to a certain King Donald V. the credit of first coining money;² while Boethius assigns that honour to Donald I., who "*primus omnium Scotorum regum ut in nostris annalibus proditum est memoriæ nummum argenteum aureumque signavit,*" &c.:³ an account which is translated in the quaint old version of Bellenden as follows:—

"King Donald was the first King of Scottis that prentit ane penny of gold or silver. On the ta side of this money was prentit ane croce, and his face on the tothir. The Scottis usit na money, bot marchandise, quhen thay interchangeit with Britonis and Romanis afore thir days, except it war money of the said Romanis or Britonis: as may be previt be suidry auld hurdis and treasouris found in divers partis of Scotland with uncouth cunye."⁴

It is hardly necessary to say that this account is of no historical value, seeing that there is no authority given by the historian for his statement, and that no coins have ever been heard of anywhere near the period here indicated.

¹ "Hist. Scot.," lib. ii. p. 24; Nic. Hist. Lib., part ii. p. 85.

² Lib. vi. p. m. 175.

³ Lib. v. fol. 86 b.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 195 (ed. 1821).

We may safely assume that in Scotland a circulating medium, struck in the country, was much later of coming into use than among neighbouring nations;⁵ and the reason of this was in all probability the scarcity of metal, and the want of necessary skill, in addition to the poverty of the country and the absence of any great foreign intercourse. When anything was wanted which barter could not supply, ornaments of gold and silver, or the precious metals by weight, would most likely be used in the earlier times, and the "uncouth cunye" of other countries in the later. A curious proof of the scarcity of money is found in the laws of King David I.,⁶ when, though there was a native currency, and though money penalties are sometimes mentioned, there is more frequent note of offenders being liable for a fine of so many "ky" (cows), with sometimes the addition of a "colpendach" (calf).⁷ There are traces in the early annals, of payments in money long before we have proof of a native currency. It is related that Brudus sent considerable sums to the Saxon King Edwine—"missa ad eum ingenti pecuniæ vi."⁸ In the time of Malcolm Canmore a "nummus aureus" is mentioned, though what it was is not particularly specified.⁹ It is called in the Scotch translation by Bellenden "a golden penny,"¹⁰ though the same sum is elsewhere stated to be "half ane merk." In the "Leges inter Brettos and Scotos" the "croo" (that is, the assithement) for the slaughter

⁵ Ruddiman's Introduction, p. 118. Edin., 1782.

⁶ "Assise Regis David."

⁷ Vide Skene, "De Sig. Ver." sub Colpendach.

⁸ Boece, lib. x. folio 194 *a*; Nic. Hist. Lib., ii. 85.

⁹ Boethius, lib. iii. fol. 35 *a*.

¹⁰ Ib., vol. i. p. 84.

of a king is fixed at three thousand "orarum aurearum."¹¹

But though specie or foreign money may have been used in payments of this kind, there is little doubt but that there was an attempt at a native coinage much earlier than is generally supposed.

In 1806 a quantity of very early gold articles was found in Peeblesshire, and among the rest a number of flattened "circular gold pellets, each marked with a cross in relief."¹² Forty of the same kind were found in Lanarkshire; another hoard in Forfarshire, and others in various parts of the country. Two of these pieces, if we can call them such, are preserved in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. They weigh 4 dwt. 15 grs. and 4 dwt. 12½ grs. respectively, and are figured in Mr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland." That distinguished antiquary has no doubt that these circular pieces of gold, with nothing but the cross or star, were "the primitive type of native minted currency."¹³

The cross, and the workmanship of the other articles found along with them might afford some clue to the age in which they were made; but no other evidence exists on this point.

It is also recorded that amongst the articles of silver found in Norrie's Law, were several coins with rude markings on them.¹⁴ It is much to be regretted that no exact account of these has been preserved. In many parts

¹¹ "Acts" (ed. 1844), p. 299; vide Skene, "De sig. verb." s.v. "croo;" vide also Robertson's "Early Kings of Scotland," App. "Money."

¹² Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," pp. 317, 519, 520.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 318.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 351.

of the country thin discs of iron have been discovered in tumuli, which have been supposed to have been used as currency, but from the perishable nature of the metal none have ever been preserved long enough to make any particular examination of them.

There does not seem to have been any class of coins corresponding to those which are called Early British ever struck amongst the barbarous tribes of Caledonia. Though some Gaulish and Early British types have been found in Scotland, they seem all to have been brought from other parts. Nor do we find any native imitations even of the Roman coins, which must have been plentiful in the country. Some coins have been attributed to the chiefs of the Western Islands, but their attribution is not altogether satisfactory.¹⁵ Other hoards may come to light which will give more certain evidence, but in the meantime, though coins exist of the type of David I., but ruder, and evidently of earlier work, it is doubtful whether we can satisfactorily appropriate coins even to Alexander I.

In the early Scottish laws, though we find no regulations as to the currency, there is constant reference to money. Among the "Fragments of Ancient Codes" preserved in the first volume of the "Acts of the Scottish Parliament," there is one which provides:—"Quicumque falsam monetam fecisse probatum est manus ejus amputetur."¹⁶

Though the age of these fragments is uncertain, they are probably not earlier than the time of David I. Another law of the same reign—the authenticity of which is not altogether free from suspicion—provides that, "Pro vulnere

¹⁵ Lindsay, p. 2.

¹⁶ "Acts," vol. i. p. 376.

in facie, vulnerans dabit unam peciam auri, videlicet unam imaginem auri.”¹⁷ As no native gold coin then existed, this law, if we accept it as genuine, must refer either to foreign gold coins or to some amount of uncoined metal. There is a proof that gold in some shape was current in Scotland at that time, for we find in the year 1153 David I. made a grant to the Abbey of Dunfermline of all the gold which should accrue to him from Fife and Fothrif.¹⁸

In the “*Leges inter Brettos et Scotos*,” “twenty-one pennies and two-thirds of a penny” are mentioned as the “*croo*” (assithement) of the “*newow of ane oge-thearn*.”¹⁹ In the “*Laws of the Four Boroughs*,”²⁰ which is generally considered now as the first body of legislation on which historical reliance can be placed, there are various denominations of money mentioned.²¹ The brewer is to pay to the alderman fourpence per annum for leave to brew; the merchant who has a covered booth in the market-place is to pay a halfpenny to the town; but he who has one uncovered will only owe a “*ferding*.”²² A burgess “*forfalt*” is, by the same code, fixed at eight shillings. The date of those curious enactments is prior to the year 1153, and therefore during the reign of David I.; but it is hardly necessary to say that no halfpence or farthings of this reign have ever been discovered. Most probably the pennies were broken into the parts required.

A few years after (1170) this we find a charter granted to the monks of Paisley of some land in Ayrshire, by

¹⁷ Nichol., p. 86.

¹⁸ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 461; “*Chart. Dun.*,” v. ii. f. 7.

¹⁹ “*Acts*,” p. 299.

²⁰ Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, Roxburgh.

²¹ “*Acts*,” Preface, p. 32.

²² *Ib.*, pp. 27, 32, 33, 34.

Hose of Cragyn, in which mention is made of "tres nummatas ferri."²³ It is difficult to say to what this singular notice refers. There is no trace of any other coinage at that period except the silver pennies, and yet the mention of a baser currency might imply that it was not altogether unknown.

In the reign of William the Lion we first find trustworthy evidence on the state of money matters in Scotland. His coins are numerous, and the large sums mentioned in the chronicles show a great increase in the wealth and civilisation of the country. In 1186 Gilbert, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, offered Henry of England two thousand merks of silver as a yearly tribute.²⁴ Under the year 1189 we find the same sum mentioned by Wynton:—

"Twa thousand marks of sic monè,
As oysed wes than in oure countrè."

The chronicler of Mailros says, under the year 1190:—

"Willelmus rex Scottorum dedit Recardo regi Anglorum x. millia marcas auri et argenti propter dignitates et libertates ac honores suos quos habuit ante guerram et pro Berewic et Rochesburh quas Henricus rex per xvj annos violenter detinuit."²⁵

Two years afterwards, according to the same authority,²⁶ William sent from Roxburgh two thousand marks as a contribution towards paying the ransom of Richard of England; and still later in the same reign we find the Scottish king agreeing to pay King John fifteen thousand marks as compensation for the destruction of the castle

²³ "Registrum de Passelet" (Maitland Club), p. 231.

²⁴ Hailes, vol. i. p. 151 (3rd ed., Edin., 1819).

²⁵ "Chron. de Mail.," p. 98.

²⁶ *Ib.*, p. 100; Hailes, vol. i. p. 160.

of Tweedmouth, and for "procuring his friendship and fulfilling certain conventions between them."²⁷ The difficulty with which this sum was raised renders the astounding statement of Hector Boece that one hundred thousand pounds sterling was the sum to be paid as William's ransom after his capture by the English²⁸—to borrow the forcible language of the learned author of the Preface to Anderson's "*Diplomata Scotiæ*"—"equally false and incredible."

Under the year 1195 we find in the "*Chronicle of Mailros*" the first direct reference to the coinage:—

"Willelmus Rex Scottorum innovavit monetam suam."²⁹

This was, no doubt, the second coinage of William the Lion. It is mentioned by Wynton, in his chronicle:—

"Of Scotland then the Kyng Willame
Renew'd his monè then at hame;"³⁰

And it is also referred to by Balfour and Hailes, though no other particulars are given.³¹

Three years after this there was a great famine in Scotland; so much so that, according to Boece, a "modius of barley could hardly be purchased for five 'aurei.'"³² Unfortunately, he does not inform us what he means either by "modius" or "aureus;" so the reference is of no historical value as far as money is concerned.

The long reign of Alexander II. affords very scanty materials for the annals of the coinage. The chronicler

²⁷ "*Fœdera*," t. i. p. 155; Hailes, vol. i. p. 164.

²⁸ Bellenden's Trans., vol. ii. p. 318.

²⁹ "*Chron. de Mailros*," p. 102.

³⁰ Wyn., bk. vii. c. viii.; 579.

³¹ Balfour, vol. i. p. 30; Hailes, (sub anno).

³² Hailes, vol. i. p. 365.

of Melrose says that in 1247 there was a "mutatio monete,"³³ and the same event is referred to by Balfour under the same date:—

"This zeire K. Alexander with adwisse of hes 3 estaits altered the standard of hes coyne in a Parliament holdin at St. Andrews."³⁴

Alexander II. died in July, 1249.

Under the year 1250 we find in Balfour and in Hailes a notice of a change in the coinage:—

"This zeire K. Alexander renewed the stampe of his coyne, making the crosse to tuoche the utermost poynte of the circhell wich in his predessors rainges it did not."³⁵

In the "Scotichronicon" it is thus given:—

"Moneta etiam Scoticana renovatur; ita ut crux quæ prius non transivit circulum in denarium modò ad extremos fines denarii attingat."³⁶

These references at once raise the question of the appropriation of the coins of Alexander II. and his successor. By the present arrangement the short-cross pennies, and these only, are attributed to the former king, and all the long-cross, both double and single, to the latter.

In the absence of any direct evidence on the subject there are many reasons why the present appropriation is unsatisfactory.

1. The short-cross pennies which bear the name of Alexander are of the highest degree of rarity; only seven

³³ "Chron. de Mailros," p. 177.

³⁴ Balfour's "Annals," vol. i. p. 56.

³⁵ Balfour, vol. i. p. 57.

³⁶ Fordun's "Scotichronicon," Bower's Continuation (ed. 1759), ii. 88.

being known to Mr. Lindsay at the time of the publication of his view of the Scottish coinage,³⁷ while the long single and double-cross pennies with the same legend are the most numerous coins in the Scottish series.³⁸ But the reign of Alexander II. extended to upwards of thirty years, and was only a few months shorter than that of his successor. During this long period the country made great advances in wealth and civilisation, and we might expect from the surrounding historical circumstances that a large coinage would be required.³⁹

2. It is true, no doubt, that the coinage of William the Lion was a very extensive one, and this is urged as a reason in favour of the present arrangement by Mr. Lindsay;⁴⁰ but we have seen that during his reign large sums were sent out of the kingdom, and it is unlikely that what remained would be enough for the requirements of a country making such progress as Scotland was then doing.

3. The long double-cross coins have been frequently found with those of William the Lion, and without any of the short-cross pennies along with them.⁴¹

4. The evidence afforded by the coins themselves is altogether against the received appropriation. For in the first place we find only one mint recorded on them, viz., Roxburgh; and in the next place, though the coins are very few in number, they exhibit a great variety of type.

It was altogether against the usual custom of that time to strike the entire coinage of one reign at the same mint. The names recorded on the pennies of William

³⁷ Lindsay, p. 12.

³⁸ *Ib.*, p. 11.

³⁹ Robertson's "Early Kings;" Burton's "Hist. of Scot.," vol. ii. p. 196.

⁴⁰ Lindsay, p. 12.

⁴¹ *Ib.* p. 12.

the Lion and on the long double-cross coins of Alexander show a great number of mints in various parts of the country, and there is no reason for supposing that this practice was altered in the case of Alexander II. Roxburgh was certainly a very favourite residence of that king; but we hear of him at many other places holding parliaments, courts, and dispensing justice.⁴² He was at Scone in 1214; Perth, 1220; Selkirk, 1223; Forfar, 1225; St. Andrews, 1247; Berwick and Stirling in 1248; and, from continual references in the annals, was evidently in the habit of constantly making progresses in every part of the country. It is in the highest degree unlikely that, under these circumstances, he should have struck money only at Roxburgh.

5. In connection with this argument it is worthy of note that this mint does not occur at all, so far as I am aware, on any of the so-called first coinage of Alexander III.; it is not published amongst his so-called second coinage, though a specimen exists in my own collection; and is of great rarity in the third coinage; and when this mint does occur, the moneyer is often ANDRV, whose name also occurs on the short-cross coins.

6. Mr. Lindsay places considerable weight on the appearance of the head as presented on the short-cross coins and on the long-cross coins of the present first coinage of Alexander III.⁴³ But this evidence tells more against the present arrangement than for it. For if we remember that Alexander III. was a boy of eight years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and that this change of coinage is said to have taken place in the first year of his reign; and if we compare the coins of the

⁴² "Scots Acts, sub Reg. Alex. II."

⁴³ Lindsay, p. 12.

first, second, and third coinages with those of his fourth (according to the present arrangement) it will be at once apparent that the most boyish face of all is the last. The third coinage more particularly, and especially those of Berwick, present an old haggard face, which it is impossible to suppose, if we are to accept any argument at all from the portrait, immediately preceded the youthful, full features of the fourth coinage.

7. The presence of a beard on the short-cross coins has also been pointed out by Mr. Lindsay as another argument in favour of his view. But this only occurs on *some* of the short-cross coins; as Nos. 47 and 48 of Pl. iii. in his work have no trace of it, though evidently well preserved; and therefore this fact cannot be allowed to have much weight. Besides, some of William the Lion's second coinage pennies have a beard, though others have not (Lindsay, Pl. ii., Nos. 34, 41); and it is worthy of remark that the best defined beard is from the Roxburgh mint, and by a moneyer (PERIS) whose name also appears on the bearded type of the short-cross coin of his successor.

8. Another very curious fact, though it can hardly be admitted as an argument, is that Alexander II. is represented on his great seal *without the crown*, as in the long double cross coins;⁴⁴ while Alexander III. appears remarkably like the face presented on the coins of the fourth coinage, and is invariably crowned.⁴⁵

But it is at once admitted that all these arguments would fall to the ground if we had *certain* evidence that no long-cross coins were struck till after the accession

⁴⁴ Vide "Charter of Alex. II.," Pl. xxx. Dip. Scot. Nat. Man. Scot. xlix.

⁴⁵ Ib., Pl. xxxvi. Dip. Scot.

of Alexander III. It remains, therefore, that we examine the evidence derived from the Scottish writers, and see if it is really such as would destroy the highly probable case arrayed against it. Mr. Lindsay says:—

“The evidence of history cannot be got over; it appears from the Scottish writers that in 1250 it was ordered that the cross should pass through the legendary circle, which was not the case before in the Scottish series.”⁴⁶

A note gives a general reference to the Chronicle of Mailros, Fordun, Lord Hailes, Sir J. Balfour. The two latter authorities may be at once eliminated, since all their information on this point is derived from the two earlier sources. We have then left the “Chronicle of Mailros and Fordun;” and if these two support this assertion, all other, merely probable, arguments go for very little. But, in point of fact, they do nothing of the kind. There is not a single word by Fordun in reference to any change of coinage in 1250; and the only statement about the coinage in the “Chronicle of Mailros” relating to this period, is the one given above, viz., that in 1247—*that is, during the reign of Alexander II.*—there was a “mutatio monete,” which not only does not support Mr. Lindsay’s assertion, but goes a very long way to contradict it. The whole foundation for his statement rests on a passage in the “Scoti-chronicon,”⁴⁷ written, not by Fordun in 1384-87, but by a continuator in 1447, nearly two centuries after the event. We cannot put much weight on the fact that Fordun does not mention the change of in the “Gesta annalia” of the reign of Alexander III.;⁴⁸ for he does not mention any monetary changes at all. But

⁴⁶ Lindsay, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Lib. x. iii.

⁴⁸ Vide “Historians of Scotland,” vol. i. p. 293 a (ed. 1871).

the reverse is the case with the "Chronicle of Mailros." It is an authority of the highest credibility (after the year 1140), "being the testimony of individuals who lived seldom later than half a century from the occurrence of the events which they record,"⁴⁹ and the omission of all notice of such an important change in the coinage under the date of 1250, coupled with the fact that the previous alteration had been carefully noted, is a negative proof of the highest value that no such change took place then, and that the only alteration in the figure of the coins was prior to the death of Alexander II.

The case, therefore, stands thus: on the one side we have (first) the presumption arising from the historical circumstances, rendering it probable that Alexander II. did coin more largely than is now supposed; (next) the arguments derived from the coins themselves; first, from their being all from one mint, which is against the usual custom of the time; and, secondly, from the portrait, which appears older on the double-cross or earlier (as now given) coins than on the single or later ones; and, lastly, we have the historical fact that the "Chronicle of Mailros," a nearly contemporary authority of the highest value, and which has noted the only monetary change that has occurred before, not only does not mention the alleged change in 1250, but makes particular reference to some alteration in type during *the previous* reign, thus very much confirming the probable evidence from the other sources.

On the other side, we have the statement erroneously attributed to Fordun, but really made by his continuator, writing two centuries after the event, who places in 1250 what really took place three years before.

⁴⁹ Vide preface by the Rev. J. Stevenson.

Nothing short of demonstration ought to be allowed to disturb an existing arrangement. But in the present case I am inclined to think that the balance of evidence is in favour of appropriating some, if not all, the long double-cross coins to Alexander II. Further evidence may, however, still be found which may either confirm or modify this view.

It may be as well to guard against any confusion which may arise from there being three so-called coinages of the long double-cross coins. There is no authority for such a division. There are, as Mr. Lindsay correctly says, three varieties; viz., those with bare head or close-fitting cap, those with crowned head to the right, and those with crowned head to the left; and these three classes correspond very exactly to three similar varieties in the short-cross coins, which are never divided into coinages.

But, to return to the annals.

In 1253 we learn from the "Chartulary of Moray" that one mark was paid for the risk of conveying twenty marks from Badenoch to Berwick;⁵⁰ a sufficient proof of the lawlessness of the times. Under the year 1283 a very interesting reference occurs in Wynton's "Chronicle:"—

"Alysandre, owre kyng,
That Scotland had in governyng,
Come intil his Ryawté,
Til of Sanct Andrewys the cité,
And in the kirk standand there,
Devotly befor the hey Awtare
In wytness of all that there wes by
Gaddryde and standand, all frely
Til God and til Saynct Andrewe he
Granted the strykyn of moné

⁵⁰ "Char. Moray.," i. 22; Hailes, i. 371.

Als frely, qwtly, and fullyly,
 As ony tyme befor gane by
 Ony Byschope had sic thyng
 Quhen that his Fadyre before wes Kyng
 Or of his Eldrys ony before
 As mycht be herd or had memore,
 Sawfand the declaratyoun
 Of the Inquisityoun,
 Of the feftment of that thyng
 To remain ay with the Kyng." ⁵¹

Though Wynton is not implicitly to be relied on in all matters of history, he is still a very respectable authority for events such as narrated above; and there is no reason to doubt the fact here recorded. It is referred to by Ruding as a proof that the power of striking money was granted by the monarch publicly.⁵² Possibly in this case the profits arising from the coinage, or some part of them, may have been granted to the service of the Church, and of the particular saint here mentioned. The reference to the "Byschope" is curious, and may mean that in former reigns some similar advantage was enjoyed by the bishops, though this is uncertain.

There is no proof that any ecclesiastical mint existed in Scotland either in the reign of William the Lion or of Alexander II.; nor have we any evidence, save this statement of Wynton's, that the bishops had the power of striking money at this time. I am not aware of any charter of either of these kings granting the power, or the profits, of coining money to any individual or religious body; and there is nothing either in the mints or in the names of the moneyers, which would lead us to suppose that this was the case. It is true that both Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Wingate give Inchaffray—an abbey in Stratherne,

⁵¹ Wynton "Chron.," bk. vii. c. x. 405.

⁵² Ruding, vol. ii. p. 137.

founded in 1200—as one of the mints of the long double-cross coins. But this is done on the authority of a single coin, which was at one time in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, the attribution of which is not altogether free from doubt. The legend on the obverse is manifestly blundered, reading ANLEXANDR; and the ION IHIC FRA on the reverse is very likely blundered also.

There are some curious coincidences between the names of some of the moneyers and of some of the bishops, which might at first sight serve to confirm the statement of Wynton. Thus Walter was Bishop of Glasgow from 1206 to 1232, and the same name appears as moneyer on the long double cross minted at that town. But a careful comparison does not strengthen this view. There are many bishops whose names do not appear amongst the moneyers, and *vice versâ*. I am more inclined to adopt the opinion of M. Adrien de Longpérier in an article in the *Revue Numismatique*, in which he shows, from the names and the legend on the coins of William the Lion, that the moneyers were of Norman-French origin; brought over probably to coin his ransom to the English king. Many of these apparently remained, for we find their names on William's second coinage; and there is little doubt but that some of them minted for his successor. Peris occurs on the short-cross coins, and Renaud, Henri, Nichel, and others, evidently of the same origin, are found on the long double-cross coins.

Yet though Wynton's statement is not confirmed by an examination of such data as are at present available, this is a case where it is perhaps better to suspend a positive judgment till better evidence is available.

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

IV.

SASSANIAN COINS.

THE introductory plates which accompany this article form part of a series of 10 engravings,¹ prepared under the supervision of the late Mr. Steuart from specimens in his own cabinet, illustrative of the rule of the Sassanian kings of Persia. The selection of the representative types will be seen to have been made with great numismatic acumen from a collection, at the time, unrivalled in choice examples of the coinages of the East. The execution of the designs is alike careful and artistic, though, as might have been expected, the definition of the Oriental legends is often wanting in critical precision.

The publication of these illustrations, though delayed, may still be welcomed as opportune, whether in regard to the limited notice this branch of Numismatics has received in England, or to the more important question involved in the palæography of a great nation, abiding amid the early centres of civilisation, and its bearing

¹ These plates have lately become the property of that enterprising collector of Oriental antiquities, Colonel S. C. Guthrie, who, after his own independent way, has contributed so much to further the cause of Eastern research, and who, in a like liberal spirit, now permits the editors of the Numismatic Chronicle to avail themselves of these illustrations.

upon the philology and religious developments of the ancient world.

The medals I am about to describe exhibit, in their serial order, an almost unchanged system of writing extending over a period of more than three centuries.² The early sources of the alphabet have already been traced to the Phœnician,³ and its latter adaptations may be followed through the sacred rituals of the Pársis to the modern type, founded on the surviving texts of the Fire Worshipers of Bombay, which now makes its first appearance in this Journal, in appropriate illustration of the normal character employed in the Imperial mints. And here I would desire to point out that this alphabet was not, in any sense, official; *mutatis mutandis*, according to the material employed, it sufficed for the monumental records of the kings, for the entire series of the Sassanian mints, ranging at times from the Tigris to Merv, and its free acceptance throughout the nation, is evidenced by the signets and seals of the people at large, which carry it down in the universality of its employment far into the period of Arabian dominancy.⁴

I am the more anxious to bring this positive evidence to the front as it has an important bearing upon a subject I have lately been discussing in these pages, that is, the consistency and continuity of the use of the Pehlvi language

² Some Numismatists have imagined that they could trace *epochal* gradations in the characters employed, but I am more inclined to attribute these often casual modifications to the want of skill or knowledge of the die engravers, and to that far more important element of change, the geographical or provincial variations of caligraphy which prevailed at the sites of the various mints.

³ Num. Chron. vii., n.s. p. 216, xi. 202.

⁴ J. R. A. S., xiii. (1852) p. 374; Mordtmann. Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, 1864, p. 1.

or some of its dialectal varieties in the Persian empire.⁵ The Indian Æsop's Fables made their first step of Western progress in the sixth century, in the form of a translation into *Pehlvi*.⁶ The revenue system of the Sassanians was done into Arabic from its *original Pehlvi*, in the reign of the Khalif Abdalmalik⁷ (A.D. 684—705), and the Arabs were still carrying on the translation of Pehlvi books up to the tenth century A.D.;⁸ and finally we have it on record that the *Pehlvi* language was still spoken, in some parts of the country, so late as the fourteenth century A.D.⁹

It may be asked, if the national literature attained such ample and enduring proportions, how came the sacred

⁵ Num. Chron. (1871), p. 212; also J. R. A. S., xiii. 374, and v. n.s. 417, &c.

⁶ Prof. Th. Benfey. "Notice on the original version of the *Kalilah* and *Dimnah*, translated into *Pahlavi* in the first half of the sixth century A.D., and translated from the Pahlavi into the Arabic by Ibn al Mukaffa (ob. A.D. 762)."—(*The Academy*, August 1, 1871, p. 387.) Professor Cowell, in a late review of Benfey's work, adds the following particulars, which will specially interest Indian antiquaries. "Benfey has there shown that with regard to the cycle of stories in the *Panchatantra* and other similar collections there are three distinct 'moments' in the history of their transmission. Their origin is generally Buddhist, and it is in Buddhist books that we are in most cases to look for their oldest forms; they were thence adapted by the Brahmans, and incorporated in their Sanskrit literature; and it is from these Indian adaptations that they have spread westward over Europe."—(*The Academy*, April 1, 1872, p. 139. See also Colebrooke, *Hitopadesa*; H. H. Wilson, *Trans. R. A. S.*, i. 155; Reinaud, "Mém. sur l'Inde," p. 128; Mas'audi, i. 159.)

⁷ *Tarikh Guzidah*. J. R. A. S., xii. 257.

⁸ M. Reinaud (*Abdulfeda's Geography*, Paris, 1848, p. lxvi.) quoting Mas'audi. See also Mas'audi's "Meadows of Gold," French edition, ii. 146; iii. 252.

⁹ M. de Khanikoff, in the "Bull. Hist. Phil. St. Petersburg," vol. ix. p. 266; quoting the *Nuzhat-al-Kulub* of *Hamd al Mustúfi*, an author who died in 750 A.H. (1349 A.D.) The writer is express in his assertion that the current speech of the people of Shirwán was Pehlvi. See also *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 64; and Ouseley's *Travels*, iii. p. 357.

texts to fare so badly? The answer is probably to be found in the degradation and depression of the hierarchy throughout the five centuries and a half of the domination of the Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ, and the fact, that the representatives of the ancient fire worship, relying upon *oral* transmission and powers of memory, neglected the more determinate *written* traditions of their faith.¹⁰ It is pretended by the later revivers of the early creed, that their scriptures were destroyed in the conflagration of Persepolis by Alexander the Great, but surely there were other depositaries of the royal archives¹¹ more favoured than Persepolis, even if the primitively established and more important fire-temples did not preserve their own special copies of the records of their religion?

As the sacred fire was brought from Khárizm,¹² the

¹⁰ "Les Guèbres ne sont pas encore parvenus à retenir par cœur tous leurs livres révélés; aussi leurs savants et leurs *hirbeds* se bornent à en apprendre des fragments, par exemple, un septième, un quart ou un tiers. Un de ces prêtres commence par réciter le fragment qu'il a retenu, un second reprend à son tour, puis un troisième, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient complété leur récitation en commun. Ceci démontre qu'il leur est impossible d'apprendre cet ouvrage en entier; on cite cependant un guèbre du Sedjestân qui, postérieurement à l'année 300 de l'hégire, le récitait par cœur et intégralement."—(Mas'audi, ii. p. 126.)

¹¹ "Then commanded King Darius to seek among the records at Babylon, and so at Ecbatana, the palace which is in the county of Media, there was found a roll."—(1 Esdras vi. 23; Josephus Ant., xi. 6.)

"The Pársis themselves are obliged to admit that among other official copies distributed, one was found at Isfahan, and translated into Greek."—(Haug's translation of the "Dinkard.") "As regards Isfahan, we have the later Arab testimony that in A.D. 961, the fall of an old edifice brought to light fifty skins-full of documents written upon birch bark in the ancient character, unintelligible to the discoverers."—(Hamza Isfaháni, 152. See also the Sháh Námah (Macan's edition), p. 1097.)

¹² "Les dix pyrées que nous venons de mentionner dataient

Persepolitan text¹³ was probably a mere reproduction of an earlier recension engrossed amid the primitive homes of the Iranians.

If this was the condition of the *Pehlvi* versions of the sacred texts, a parallel inquiry suggests itself as to the authenticity or medium of preservation of the scriptural fragments in the *Zand* language, which are tendered for acceptance in modern times.¹⁴ We may fairly assume, from the marked absence of a single *exclusively* *Zand* letter throughout the whole array of the national and popular monuments of the period up to 641 A.D.,¹⁵ that the *Zand* alphabet had not, up to that time, been elaborated out of the more restricted number of the Sassanian *Pehlvi* characters,¹⁶ whose treatment, under the

d'une époque antérieure à l'apparition de Zoroastre. . . . Du vivant de Zoroastre, plusieurs temples furent consacrés au culte du feu ; Sur l'invitation de Zoroastre, le roi Youstasf fit rechercher le feu vénéré par Djemchid ; après de longues investigations, il le découvrit dans la capitale du Khârezm, et le fit transporter à Darabdjerd."—(Mas'audi, iv. 75. See also ii. 120.)

¹³ "Un des pyrées les plus vénérées des Guèbres est celui d'Istakhr, dans le Fars (Persépolis). C'était primitivement un temple consacré aux idoles ; la reine Houmayeh, fille de Bahman, fils d'Isfendiar, le convertit en temple du feu, après avoir détruit les idoles."—(Mas'audi, iv. 76.)

¹⁴ M. Michel Bréal has entered into a searching criticism of the geography of "the Avesta," in which he examines the antiquity and authenticity of the first chapter of the *Vendidad*. The conclusion he arrives at is that "la géographie de l'*Avesta* est essentiellement fabuleuse."—(*Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497.)

¹⁵ Sir H. Rawlinson was under the impression that he had discovered a very brief *Zand* record on one of the rocks in Persia. I have been favoured with a sight of his original sketch, and must decline to admit the conclusiveness of the *Zand* element, even if we could say *when* the writing was inscribed.

¹⁶ My own ideas of the derivation of the various Aryan

self-developed amplification of signs, took the very different form presented by the Párisí system of definition

alphabets were thrown into a compact form some years ago. I may perhaps be permitted to claim space for its reproduction in this place.

“ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, April 9th, 1866.—The Right Hon. Viscount Strangford in the chair. Mr. Thomas, adverting to recent controversies respecting the parentage of the various modes of writing in use in ancient India, spoke ‘On the Adapted Alphabets of the Aryan Races.’ These were the results of his palæographical investigations: The Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the science of writing: (1) The *Persian Cuneiform* owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian Cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Turanian symbolic character; (2) the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets were manifestly derived from the Phœnician; (3) the *Bactrian* was adapted to its more precise functions by a reconstruction and amplification of Phœnician models; (4) the *Devanāgarī* was appropriated to the expression of the Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Indian Páli or *Lāt* alphabet, which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (Drávidian) dialects; (5) the *Pehlvi* was the offspring of later and already modified Phœnician letters; and (6) the *Zend* was elaborated out of the limited elements of the Pehlvi writing, but by a totally different method to that followed in the adaptation of the Semitic Bactrian. Mr. Thomas then proceeded to advert to the single point open to discussion involved under the fourth head, tracing the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from the Oxus into the provinces of Ariania and the Hindu Kush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the Panjáb and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Sarasvati, and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phœnician, and whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch bark. This alphabet continued in use as the official writing under the Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers of Northern India, until it was superseded by the superior fitness and capabilities of the local Páli, which is proved by Asoka’s scattered

exhibited at p. 14. I am glad to be able in illustration of this question¹⁷ to cite the independent conclusions of so competent and experienced a decipherer of ancient inscriptions as M. Oppert, whose remarks upon the construction and application of the so called Zand alphabet are as follows:—

“Le zend ne nous est pas connu dans son écriture primitive. Sa littérature végéta longtemps dans la bouche des prêtres sans être conçue par écrit, ou du moins ses premières conceptions ont été perdues de bonne heure. Plus tard, lorsqu'on sentit le besoin de confier au papier ce qu'on craignait de perdre sans l'écriture, un système de lettres tout à fait différent avait déjà pris place et fait oublier l'antique écriture-arienne. Il fallait adopter alors pour le zend le système sémitique comme on l'avait fait pour le pehlevi, et en subir toutes les conséquences.

inscriptions on rocks and monoliths (Lâts) to have constituted the current writing of the continent of India in B.C. 250, while a similar, if not identical, character is seen to have furnished the prototype of all the varying systems of writing employed by the different nationalities of India at large from Sind to Ceylon, and spreading over Burmah, till the Indian Pâli meets Chinese alphabets on their own soil in Annam. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas pointed out the importance of the discoveries of Norris and Caldwell, derived from completely independent sources, regarding the Scythic origin of the introductory Indian alphabets.”—(*Athenæum*.)

The point adverted to under the fourth head formed the subject of discussion at two several meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, with the result of which I have every reason to be satisfied. Indeed there is a growing feeling in favour of the proposition in defiance of all local prejudices. (*J. A. S. B.*, 1867, 6 Feb., and *J. R. A. S.*, v. n.s., p. 421.)

¹⁷ See also, introductorily, E. Burnouf, “Commentaire sur le Yaçna” (Paris, 1833), pp. cxxxix., cxli., cxlv., cli., &c.; Westergaard, “Letter from Yazd” (1843), *J. R. A. S.*, viii. 350, and his “Zend Avesta” (Copenhagen, 1852—4), pp. 3, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22; and likewise Dr. W. D. Whitney, of Yale College; article, “The Avesta” (Oct., 1854), *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. v. pp. 352-5-6, 360; and Dr. Haug, “The Sacred Language of the Pârsis” (Bombay, 1862), pp. 53, 122, 129, 162.

Il paraît qu'on adopta d'abord l'écriture du pehlevi pour le zend, sans se soucier des voyelles, et réellement les consonnes des deux écritures sont en grande partie les mêmes. Mais cet alphabet ne suffisait pas pour le riche vocalisme de la langue indo-germanique, et il fallait inventer des signes propres pour suppléer à ce défaut. Malheureusement la langue était déjà altérée dans la bouche des prêtres, qui ne faisaient que la murmurer, et l'influence de l'écriture sémitique avait contribué à confondre la valeur des voyelles. On inventa alors trop de signes pour toutes les nuances possibles qu'on n'observait pourtant pas, puisqu'on ne les pouvait plus maintenir; on employait indistinctement les signes différents *a, i, é, è, ê, î*, d'une part, et *u, û, o, ô*, de l'autre, parce que la triade vocalique des Sémites leur avait appris de mettre *a* pour *e*, et *e* pour *i*. Voilà pourquoi l'orthographe zende est tellement désorganisée, que les voyelles s'y emploient presque sans aucune distinction. Pour la déterrer, il faut recourir aux langues congénères, en observant et appliquant toutefois les lois particulières à cet idiome."¹⁸

Finally, to my apprehension, the most damaging and discouraging fact in connexion with the Zoroastrian texts, as we now have them, consists in the number of eminent men who have taken up the study, made more or less considerable advances in it and, suddenly, altogether abandoned it, as if their credulity had, at some given point, received a shock.

Olshausen, the revered Eugène Burnouf, J. Müller, and Westergaard, alike seem to have deserted their unfinished work. One Persian lexicographer, Richardson, was unhesitating in his denunciation of the fictitious nature of the "barbarous jargon." Sir William Jones pronounced the dialect of the Gabrs "an invention of their priests," concocted subsequent to the Muhammadan conquest; in short, as Professor Wilson remarked, the English authorities were "unanimously opposed to the antiquity of the sacred writings of the Parsis and to the genuineness of

¹⁸ Jour. Asiatique, Feb.—Mar., 1851, p. 281.

the language in which they are composed¹⁹—but it was reserved for a once faithful believer, like Westergaard, to climax their condemnation in the expression, “though the Zand Avesta may contain the Sassanian fire-faith, still it can no longer be considered as a monument of antiquity; to use a rather rude expression, the Zand Avesta is a modern dunghill, where you may find ancient pearls.”²⁰

Before entering upon the description of the Sassanian coins, it is necessary to dispose of the three Sub-Parthian pieces, which Mr. Steuart has inserted by way of introduction, into Pl. I. The readers of the Numismatic Chronicle may refer to a special paper of mine on this subject in vol. xii. o.s., p. 68, where I attempted a preliminary classification of the scattered examples of the issues of these minor dynasties. As I hope to revert to the general question in a more complete way, on some future occasion, I will not amplify this reference, further than to mention, that I am now able to read the legends on the class of coins distinguished by the small fire-altar and the single ministering Mobed, (Nos. 5—8 of the old Plate), and to attribute them with some confidence to the Median kings Darius and Artaxerxes of Atropatène,²¹ whose names appear in connexion with the Roman campaigns of Lucullus and Antony in Armenia.²²

¹⁹ J. R. A. S., iv. o.s. (1887), p. 346. Our own learned countrymen of the last generation in Bombay, were by no means negligent in their inquiries into the then extant knowledge of the local Parsis. Nor were they at all reserved in putting the result of their investigations into print, and maintaining controversies on the authenticity of the languages in dispute.

²⁰ J. R. A. S., viii. o.s., p. 351.

²¹ My “Sassanian Inscriptions” (Trübner, 1868), p. 129—134.

²² Appian, “Mithr.,” cvi.—cxvi.; Dion Cass., xlix. 25, 33, 40, 44; li. 16; Plutarch in Antony.

SUB-PARTHIAN COINS.

No. 1. Silver. Weight, 25 grs. Brit. Mus. Two coins. Pl. I., fig. 3.

Obv.—Head of king to the left, similar in its details to certain examples of the portrait of Phraates IV.²³ Crescent (and star?) in the field.

Legend, in mixed Chaldaeo and Sassanian Pehlvi... ארתחשטר מ —
— آرتخشتر Artahshatr Malká, "King Artaxerxes."

Rev.—Crowned head to the left.

Legend, in Sassanian Pehlvi, ملكا . . . ملكين The suggested ملكين may be possibly read as منوشتری for منشتری Minúshatr?

No. 2. Silver. Pl. I., fig. 4.

Obv.—Head to the left, with Parthian tiara.

Legend. اتوردت ملكا = ملوچ هلا Atúrdat Malká.²⁴

Rev.—Head to the left, with head-dress arranged after the manner but slightly differing from the ordinary Arsacidan models.

Legend, imperfect, — — ملكا — بري Malká . . . barī.

Other obverse devices of similar character, conjoined with a reverse Arab head, like the above, but altogether wanting in the circular legend, display the title of آرتخشتر ملكا, Artahshatr Malká, Num. Chron., Pl. xii., fig. 3; while the legends on the reverse of a similar coin (Num. Chron., Pl. xii., fig. 4) seem to run כובאד מלכא, 'Kóbád Malká, "Kobád, king, son of Kamiút, king."

²³ Lindsay, iii. 52; Longpérier, ix. 9.

²⁴ Atur, "fire," dáđ, "gift."

No. 3. Silver. Pl. I., fig. 5.

Obv.—Head with Parthian tiara, ornamented with a crescent and a star, to the left.

Legend. Obscure.

Rev.—Head with the hair arranged after an exceptional Arsacidan fashion.

Legend. ان شتری ? . . . *ân Shatri.*

I have to preface the description of the Sassanian coins by two introductory notices, the one comprehending the serial order of the kings, the other explanatory of the alphabet in which the Mint legends are defined.

A full enumeration of the Sassanian monarchs is subjoined with the dates of their several accessions, revised from the latest authorities.²⁵ A certain amount of confusion is inseparable from the then prevailing system of reckoning (which we preserve in our Acts of Parliament), from the moment of the elevation of each new sovereign, unchecked, in this case, by any epochal initial date or serial dynastic chronology. Our coins too,²⁶ in this

²⁵ The most complete and searching examination of this difficult subject is to be found in the *Journal Asiatique*, Feb.—March, 1866, in an article entitled “*Essai d’une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides*,” by M. K. Patkanian; translated from the original Russian text by M. Évariste Prud’homme.

²⁶ The literature of the numismatic section of the subject is as follows:—

Hyde, “*Historia religionis Vet. Persar.*” (Edit. Costard). Oxford, 1760.

De Sacy, “*Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse.*” Paris, 1793.

Sir W. Ouseley, “*Observations on some Medals and Gems.*” London, 1801. “*Travels in Persia.*” London, 1823.

Visconti, “*Iconographie des rois perses.*”

T. C. Tychsen, “*Commentationes IV. de numis veterum Persarum in comment. Soc. Reg.*” Gott., 1808—1813.

instance, afford us but limited aid, as the practice of entering the date on the reverse was a comparatively late innovation, and when fully ascertained, these records simply suffice to determine the extreme limit of the given reign, in the number of *years*, and at the best might leave many *months* of error either at their initial or terminal points.

THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

(Chiefly from Armenian authorities corrected up from other sources.)

	Accession.
1. Ardeshîr Bâbekân	226 A.D.
2. Shâpûr I.	240
3. Hormazd I. ²⁷	271

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- Sir R. Ker Porter, "Travels in Georgia," &c. London, 1821.
- M. Adrien de Longpérier, "Essai sur les médailles des rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide." Paris, 1840.
- Dr. Dorn, "Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. à St. Pétersbourg, Classe Historique." 1843, with numerous detached essays of later date.
- Dr. Justus Olshausen, "Die Pehlvi-Legenden auf d. Mzn. der letzt. Sassaniden." Kopenhagen, 1843. Translated in the Num. Chron., o.s. xi. (1848), p. 68.
- Wilson, "Ariana Antiqua," p. 396. London, 1841.
- A. Krafft, "Ueber Olshausens, Entzifferung, in den Wiener Jahrbüchern der Literatur." Bd. 106 Anzeigeblatt.
- Dr. Mordtmann's papers in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft." 1848, p. 112; 1854, p. 1; 1864, p. 1; 1865, p. 373.
- My articles in the J. R. A. S., xii. (1849), p. 353; xiii. (1852), p. 373; and Num. Chron., o.s. xii. (1849), p. 68; and xv. (1852), p. 180. And also casual references in my edition of Prinsep's "Indian Antiquities." London, 1858.
- M. Bartholomæi's Letters to M. Dorn in the "Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg," xiv. (1857), p. 371, and elsewhere; also M. N. de Khanikoff to M. Dorn. 1857.
- ²⁷ Mas'audi calls him *Al Batal*, "The Hero" (ii. 166, No. 13). The Arabic version of his nickname is *Al Athim*, "The Sinner."

	Accession.
4. Varahrán (Bahram) I.	272 A.D.
5. Varahrán II.	275
6. Varahrán III. (<i>Segán Sháh</i>)	292
7. Nersehi (<i>Ναρσῆς</i>)	292
8. Hormazd II.	301
9. Shápúr (<i>Zu'laktáf</i>)	309
10. Ardeshir II. (<i>Jamíl</i>)	380
11. Sháhpúr III.	384
12. Varahrán IV. (<i>Kermán Sháh</i>)	386
13. Yezdegird I (<i>Bazah-Kár</i>)	397
14. Varahrán V. (<i>Gór</i>)	417
15. Yezdegird II. (<i>Sipáh-dost</i>)	438
16. Hormazd III.	457
17. Firoz	459
18. Vagharsh (<i>Bálas</i>)	486
19. Kobád (<i>Nek-rái</i> , "wise") (<i>Καβάδης</i>)	490
20. Khusrú I. (<i>Naushírwán</i>)	530—1
21. Hormazd IV. (<i>Türk-zádah</i>) ²⁸	578
22. Khusrú II. (<i>Parvîz</i>)	590
23. Kobád <i>Shîrúiah</i> (<i>Al ghashûm</i>) ²⁹	628
24. Ardeshir III.	628
25. Shahr-yâr (<i>Khorham</i>) <i>Σαρβάρος</i> ³⁰	629
26. Púrân-dukht (daughter of Khusrú Parvîz) ³¹	630
27. Khusrú	} 631—2
28. Azarmi-dukht (daughter of Khusrú)	
29. Hormazd	
30. Yezdegird III. (son of No. 25) ³²	{ 632 (16 June) to 652 A.D.

²⁸ Hormazd's mother was the daughter of the Khakán of the Túrks. (Mas'audi, ii. 211.) Varahrán *Chobín* revolts and gains temporary possession of the throne on the death of Hormazd. (Mas'audi, ii. 219.) Tabari gives one of the orthographies of the name as "Schew-bín" (ii. p. 252).

²⁹ "The iniquitous."

³⁰ Hamza "Shahrizád." Mas'audi has transfigured the name into *Shahríbar* (ii. 233). Tabari, in the French transliteration, has "Schehrabraz" (ii. 348).

³¹ Widow of No. 25. Tabari records in order, Púrân-dukht (one year four months); Khousehensadé (one month); Azarmi dukht (six months); Kesra, fils de Mihr-'Hásis; Khorzád-Khusrú; Firoz; Ferroukzád Khusrú; and Yezdegird (ii. 349).

³² This is Hamza's account and that usually adopted by the Persian authorities. The Armenian chronicles make Yezdegird the son of Kobád and grandson of Khusrú.—Sépéas, quoted in the *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 227.

I. COMPUTABLE SOUNDS OF THE NORMAL LETTERS ON THE COINS,
INCLUDING THE LATER PERSIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

1	د	ا	ح	خ	or	ع	8	ک	k.		
		a,	h,	h,	kh,	or ain.	9	م	m.		
2	ب	b.					10	{ 1 (old form 2 = w or r)			
3	ط	ت	ث	د	ذ	or		ن	or و n or w.		
		t,	th,	d,	z,	or t.	11	د	گ	or چ	
								i,	d,	g,	or j.
4	ر	(old form 2 = r) or ل	r or l.				12	ۛ final,	or detached izāfat.		
5	ز	z.					13	چ	ج	ژ	or ص
								ch,	j,	z,	s or ş.
6	س	s.					13	پ	or ف	p or f.	
7	ش	sh.									

II. MODERN PEHLVI, WITH THE CORRESPONDING PERSIAN AND
ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.

1	د	ا	A.	12	و	ک	K.
2	ب	B.		13	گ	G.	
3	ت	T.		14	ل	L.	
4	ج	J.		15	م	M.	
5	خ	KH.		16	ن	N.	
6	د	D.		17	و	W.	
7	ر	R.		18	ح	H.	
8	ز	Z.		19	ی	I or Y.	
9	س	S.		20	ی	I final.	
10	ش	SH.		21	چ	CH.	
11	غ	GH.		22	پ	P.	

In my first notice of the Partho-Persian coins, in the Numismatic Chronicle, of 1849,³³ I quoted some passages from the original Oriental authorities illustrating the rise of Ardeshr̄ Bábak.

The present state of our information on the subject may be briefly recapitulated in this place. It appears from the narrative of the historian *Tabari*,³⁴ that Sassan, the grandfather of Ardeshr̄, was the chief of the hamlets of the districts of Kh̄r, near Persépolis, and in charge of the Fire-temples in that metropolis. His son Bábak, who by his mother's side boasted of royal blood, succeeded to his honours and responsibilities, and was able to secure the patronage of Johar, the reigning monarch of Persépolis, for his own son Ardeshr̄. In very early life Ardeshr̄ was entrusted to the care of the local ruler of Dáráhgird, whom he eventually succeeded in his government, and from this moment dates the rise of the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, which though gradual, was rendered comparatively easy by the existing distribution of power among the numerous local kings, who constituted the free feudatories of the reigning Arsacidan,³⁵ and who

³³ Vol. xv. o.s., p. 88.

³⁴ The *Tārīkh* of "Abú Ja'afar Muhammad bin Jarir bin Yazid," *Al Tabari* (ob. 310 A.H., 922 A.D.).—(Oriental Translation Fund Publication. Paris, 1869. By M. Hermann Zotenberg.) And also Quatremère's "Notice of the *Mujmal Al Tawárikh*." (*Journal Asiatique*, 1839, p. 28.)

³⁵ "Les rois des Provinces respectèrent beaucoup les Aschkaniens, parce qu'ils descendaient d'Aschk, fils de Dárâ; mais ils ne leur donnèrent pas l'empire. Ils leur abandonnèrent le gouvernement du pays entre le Tigre et Reï, et ne leur demandèrent ni des biens ni le pouvoir. Les Aschkaniens, de leur côté, ne demandèrent pas obéissance aux rois des Provinces et ne les molestèrent en aucune façon; seulement, quand un

the term, a "Fire-temple," while its relation to the *Fire-altar*, depicted in the field, seemed suggestively palpable and obvious, in spite of the want of strict orthographical identity, so pardonable in ordinary Pehlvi transliterations. This explanation has, however, been contested by continental authorities, who desire a closer approach to literal exactitude, in the substitution of the word *Nawáz* (from *Nawákhtan*, "to sing," "to play,") and seek to infer that the king may be supposed to be chanting his own prayers on the opposite face of the medal. There are several objections to any such conclusion. The king, as a rule, did not perform the *chanting*; there were professionals kept for the purpose. Where the king is praying or ministering at the altar he is *so* represented, as in the case of the tombs of the kings at Persepolis, or as in that of the *Magus*, who stands before the altar, in the Atropatène coins. My own impression still continues to be that the word in question refers to the small portable altar depicted on the coins, which, as a portion of the religious paraphernalia, formed so constant an accompaniment of regal processions and royal progresses, from the days of Cyrus the Great³⁷ to those of Yesdegird, who carried his

³⁷ Xenophon Cyrop., viii. 3. 12.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο

καὶ πῦρ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἶποντο φέροντες.

Q. Curtius, iii. 3, 7. "Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et æternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus præferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant."—Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6, 34. "Feruntque, si justum est credi, etiam ignem cælitus lapsum apud se sempiternis focolis custodire, cujus portionem exiguam, ut faustam, præsisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt."

Armenian authorities quoted in the *Journal Asiatique* (1866), p. 113, tell us "Outre les somptueux pyrées construits dans

revered fire in its fit receptacle even in his last hasty flight before the conquering Arabs.³⁸ It has been urged that the Persian *Náús* is nothing but the Greek *Naós*. This is highly probable;³⁹ words of general import were easily transferred among nations who had frequent intercourse; but as we know that the Persians did not affect temples,⁴⁰ they naturally applied the parallel word to that which constituted, in their creed, the centre of adoration—their national praying machine! As we advance further on in the numismatic series, the altar itself

les villes, il existait encore des pyrées ambulants pour lesquels on disposait une tente spéciale, et le roi n'entrait jamais en campagne autrement qu'accompagné de mages et de pyrées."—(Sépéos, p. 50.)

³⁸ Tabari, in relating Yezdegird's last retreat before the conquering Muslims, records, "De là il alla dans le Khorâsân, à Nischâpûr, ayant toujours avec lui le feu (sacré) . . . à Merve il fit construire un pyrée, ou il déposa le feu qu'il avait apporté avec lui."

Anquetil's description of the modern fire-altars accords completely with this assertion of portability.

"A gauche est une petite chapelle ou chambre quarree nommée *Atash-gâh*, c'est-à-dire, *lieu du feu*. . . . Au milieu est une pierre d'un demi pied de haut, nommée *Adoscht*, qui porte l'*Atash-dân* (le vase que contient le feu). . . . Ce vase est d'airain. Cet *Atash-dân* est toujours rempli de cendres . . . au milieu, sur la cendre, est le feu *Aderan*."—(Zend Avestah, ii. 568.)

"Il y a des *Atash-dâns* de différentes grandeurs. Celui du No. 2, Pl. x., a trois pieds et demi de haut. . . . L'*Atash-dân*, No. 1 est plus petit" (p. 531).

³⁹ From ΝΑΪΩ "to dwell." The Hebrew has נָחַם "to rest, to dwell." In after-times, when the fire worshippers had ceased to bury their dead, the Persian word *Náús* came to mean "a tomb." If it was so applied in our sense of the last *dwelling*-place, the use of the derivative would be consistent, though both Cyrus's built-up tomb and the rock-cut mausoleums of his Achæmenian successors might have had something of the air of temples, among a people who did not erect such edifices.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, i. 131. (Strabo, xv. cap. iii. § 73.)

No. 11. Plate I., fig. 11.

Coin of the same king of a similar character, in *billon*. The legends are coarser, and necessarily less complete. A second more legible specimen in the Brit. Mus. supplies the following reading :

هڪ وڏو حد ۾ ناموس ۽ ڳالھون ڳالھون

Mazdisan Bagi Artahshatr Malkán Malká.

The variations in the types of Ardeshr's coins will be seen to illustrate, in curious completeness, the progressive extension of his dominions. As step by step he exterminated the surviving branches of the Arsacidan dynasty, he marked each conquest by the reproduction of the typical emblems of the fallen monarchy on the new issues of public money. In effect, he seems to have aimed at a numismatic exhibition of a series of royal portraits, not the likeness of his own ancestors, but the conventional effigies of the enemies of his race, from whom he eventually regained the old dominion of Darius, commencing with his first great success over Vologeses, the reigning king of the southern division of the Parthian dominions, and ending with the triumphant recovery of the sacred Fire-temple of Atropatène and the rest of their domains from the Armenian Arsacidæ, an event which is further commemorated in the extant bas-relief at Salmos,⁴² where Ardeshr and his son Sapor are depicted

⁴² Ker Porter, Pl. lxxxii. vol. ii. p. 597; Flandin, Pl. cciv., ccv.

as Lords of the bushy-haired Armenians,⁴³ who stand at the bridle rein of the victors' horses.

Ardešhír's earliest coinage (Plate I., fig. 1) clearly imitates, in the treatment of the head-dress, the recognised style of the front face of Vologeses V. This assimilation may either refer to his assumption of the sovereignty of Johar, the local ruler of Persepolis,⁴⁴ during the life-time of Vologeses V., or may, perhaps, be designed to indicate the later defeat of Vologeses VI. in Kermán. The next gradation in the progress of the State currency is indicated by Ardešhír's modified reproduction of the archaic plaited hair and beard, (Plate I., figs. 6, 7, 8, 9), which was probably intended to denote the revival and reassertion of the ancient Persian empire, combined with the reverse device of the new Zoroastrianism matured amid the Fire-temples of the South. The original Parthian tiara of Mithridates I. (B.C. 173, 136), which appears on the coins Pl. I., figs. 10, 11, is associated with an absolute likeness of that great conqueror, who, in effect, raised the Parthian monarchy to the higher rank of the Arsacidan empire. There can be no question, in this instance, as to the modern profile, which is absolutely identical with some of the more finished portraits of Mithridates I. on his own proper coins of four centuries' prior date. It is evident that the head of the Sassanian period was an intentional copy of the old model, and it

⁴³ "mixtis hic Colchus Hiberis,
Hic Mitra velatus Arabs, hic crine decoro
Armenius; hic picta Saces, fucataque Medus."

(Claudian, xxi. 155.,

⁴⁴ Tabari MS. Ibn Athir (Tornberg, 1867), vol. i. p. 272; Sháh Námah (Macan), iii. p. 1365; Hamza Isfahani, p. 31; De Sacy, pp. 32, 167, 274; Journal Asiatique, vii. (1839), p. 270.

is in nowise to be confounded with any attempt at a subdued likeness of Ardeshr̄ himself, whose type of countenance will be seen to differ entirely, both in the numismatic and sculptured examples, from the physiognomy of the Parthian Emperor; while Ardeshr̄'s name and titles which surround the central device declare his accession to the supreme authority, and the fall of the last scion of the house of Arsaces, the bust of whose most prominent ancestor appears upon the field, and on the reverse the new symbol of the Sassanian Fire-altar supersedes the Parthian bowman. These changes of course point to Ardeshr̄'s final conquest over Ardeván and the consolidation of the restored Persian monarchy. The latest development of emblematic varieties is to be found in the mural crown adopted by Ardeshr̄ and copied by Sapor (Plate II., fig. 2), which would appear to have been a rehabilitation of the coronet of Darius the Mede, the adversary of Antony (Num. Chron. xii. p. 68, fig. 8). The appropriation of which may be taken to allude to the final and hard-won conquest of Atropatène and Armenia.

THE RECOGNITION OF SAPOR AS HEIR APPARENT.

No. 12. Plate I., fig. 12. Silver. Weight, 54 grs. Brit. Mus. *Unique* in silver.

Obv.—Head of Ardeshr̄ with the usual crown, &c. Facing him is Sapor with the Parthian helmet.

Legend, imperfect: to the left *Malkán*: to the right, *Malká*.

Rev.—The usual Fire-altar.

Legend, *Artahshatr nuwázi*.

There is a coin with similar devices in copper in the Brit. Mus. Cabinet, but the legends are altogether obliterated.

SAPOR, AFTER HIS ACCESSION.

No. 13. Plate I., fig. 2. Copper. Weight, 227 grs. (worn). Brit. Mus.

Obv.—Crowned head to the right.

Legend, obliterated.

Rev.—The usual Fire-altar.

Legend, “*Shahpuhr* (*nuwázi*). ”

This is one of the few mistakes Mr. Steuart has made in his classification of these coins. He clearly could not read the name of *Shapúr*, which is obvious enough on the reverse, and seemingly concluded from the form of the Fire-altar, that the piece in question must belong to Ardeshér.

No. 14. Pl. II., fig. 1. Silver. Weight, 56 grs. *Unique*. Steuart Collection. Brit. Mus.

Obv.—Bust and profile of Sapor, wearing a close-fitting helmet, surmounted by the crest of an eagle's head.

Legend, transliterated into Hebrew characters.⁴⁵

מודיִסָן בָּגִי שַׁה־פֹּהַרִי מַלְכָּאן מַלְכָּא אִירָאן

Mazdisan Bagi Shahpúhari Malkán Malká Airán.

Rev.—Fire-altar, with priestly guardians armed with swords and javelins.

Legend, שַׁה־פֹּהַרִי נוּוָאֲזִי

Shahpúhari Nuwázi.

This coin was figured in my article in the Num. Chron., vol. xv. p. 180, the engraving on this occasion having been executed by Mr. Basire with his usual skill and accuracy. It would seem as if the piece had lost much

⁴⁵ Some of the readers of the Num. Chron. may be more familiar with this type than with the modern Pehlvi hitherto employed.

of its original sharpness, however, by wear, during the interval between its original delineation in the accompanying plate and its later reproduction by our English artist.

Herodotus, in his enumeration of the singular head-pieces of the provincial troops in Xerxes' army,⁴⁶ prepares us for typical manifestations of a similar character in the monumental delineations of the later Persian kings, and the Jewish Scriptures alike introduce us to the symbolic



eagle affected in the present instance,⁴⁷ or the ram,⁴⁸ whose emblem was revived at a more advanced period of

⁴⁶ Herodotus, vii. 61—80.

⁴⁷ Isaiah xlv. 1; xlvi. 11. See also list of authorities quoted in the 8th volume of the Num. Chron., n.s., p. 297.

⁴⁸ Daniel viii. 4.

Sassanian rule.⁴⁹ In further illustration of this adoption of attributes of the conventional eagle of the ancient Achæmenian standards,⁵⁰ I have introduced above a wood-cut of the head of Sapor, from the bas-relief on the rock at *Shápúr*,⁵¹ where the monarch is represented as receiving the submission of an Oriental adversary, possibly the Syrian Sitarun,⁵² if not Odenathus himself.

It will be seen as we proceed that these head-dresses have considerable significance in the attribution of our medals, and in most cases, even where the legends are hopelessly obscure or obliterated, we can place our specimens with the utmost certainty by the test of the form of the crown, which was officially adopted and usually retained throughout as the banner or special discriminatory emblem of the ruling monarch.

No. 15. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 2.

Obv.—Head of Sapor, with crown and globe.

Legend.—*Mazdisan Bagi Shahpuhari, Malkán Malká Airán Minuchatri.* . . .

Rev.—Fire-altar, &c. *Shahpuhari Nuwâzi.*

No. 16. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 3.

Coin of similar type.

Obv.—Legend less legible in the outlines of the letters, but extending the full superscription to *Minushatri, Min yazdan.*

Rev.—As usual.

No. 17. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 4.

Coin of similar type.



⁴⁹ Ammian. Marcell., xix. 1, 3.

⁵⁰ Xenophon, Cyr., vii. 1, 4. Anab., i. 10, 12.

⁵¹ Flandin "La Perse," Pl. 51. Morier, Pl. xi. This same style of head-dress of Sapor may be seen in other bas-reliefs, Flandin, 187, 188. Ker Porter, xxiv.

⁵² Mas'audi, iv. 81. Tabari, ii. 80. Ibn Khallikán, iii. 318.

Obv.—Legend complete to the end, *Minuchatri min Yazdân.*"


Rev.—As usual, with monograms  and .

No. 18. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 5.

Coin of similar type ; less perfect in its legends.

No. 19. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 6.

Coin of similar type. Legends more completely defined.


Rev.—Monogram on the altar .

No. 20. Silver. Pl. II., fig. 7.

Similar Coin. Half piece.

No. 21. Potin. Pl. II., fig. 8.

Coin of similar character.

Rev.—Monogram .

No. 22. Bronze. Pl. II., fig. 9.

Coin of similar character.

E. THOMAS.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Revue Numismatique, N.S., Tome xiv., 1869, No. 5.—On account of the unhappy and calamitous events of the years 1870 and 1871, the publication of this Review was necessarily suspended. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we see that the present number, which was in preparation when the late war broke out, has at length made its appearance. There still remains one number to complete the volume for 1869, which we understand will shortly be published under the dates of the two years, 1869 and 1870. The following articles are contained in the present Part:—

1. "Letter to M. A. de Longpérier on the Concave Gold Coins called Regenbogen-Schüsseln, bearing legends," by M. Fr. de Pfaffenhoffen.

2. "Countermarks on Roman Coins, from Augustus to Trajan," by M. F. de Saulcy.

In this article M. de Saulcy undertakes, and we think successfully, to explain the meaning and the origin of countermarks as applied to Roman coins of the earlier Roman Emperors. He endeavours to fix the date of the various coins on which countermarks occur, and furnishes us with a useful Chronological Table of the events which may have given occasion to the employment of these countermarks.

3. "An Inedited Gold Medallion of Constantine the Great," by M. Dancoisne.

4. "Essay on the Monetary History of the Counts of Flanders of the House of Austria, with a Classification of their Coins" (3rd article), by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.

5. "An Inedited Coin of Sarukhan, Emir of Ionia," by M. P. Lambros.

M. Lambros here publishes for the first time a coin in imitation of the *gigliati* of the kings of Naples, struck at Ephesus between the years 1299 and 1346. This coin is no longer unique, as several specimens have come to light in a hoard of coins lately discovered by Mr. Wood during his excavations in search of the site of the Temple of Artemis, at Ephesus. Mr. Grueber, of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, has carefully examined the

whole of this find, and he has furnished us with a detailed account of the same, which will be published in the next number of the Numismatic Chronicle.

In the *Chronique* is a paper by M. Chabouillet on the discovery at Auriol, in 1868, of a small Greek silver coin, having on the obverse the head of a lion, and on the reverse a small head of Herakles in an incuse square. This coin was found on the same site as the hoard of 2,130 small silver coins discovered in 1867, which have been considered as the primitive coinage of Marseilles. M. Chabouillet, in the present article, doubts the attribution of all these coins to Marseilles, and supposes that they were the coinage of a league similar to that between Kyzikos and Phokæa, and embracing perhaps Phokæa and its celebrated colonies, Velia and Massalia. Granting this supposition, M. Chabouillet reminds us that the facts of their bearing no letters or inscriptions, and of their belonging to the incuse class, are not necessarily proofs of their high antiquity, as both these characteristics distinguish the Kyzikene staters, which continued to be struck until they were supplanted by the gold coinage of Alexander the Great. The archaic style of the types of these interesting little coins seem, however, we would suggest, to point to a period not later than the sixth century B.C. M. F. Imhoof Blumer contributes a note in which he vindicates the authenticity of a tetradrachm of Panormus in his collection, which bears the types of Katana and the retrograde legend ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ, which had been doubted by M. Henri de Longpérier. The Part concludes with the prices fetched by the principal pieces at the sale of the Gréau Roman Coins.

B. V. HEAD.

In the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5me Série, Tome iv. 1re liv., are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*," Supplement (4th article), by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Maillet.
2. "Descriptive Notice of the *méreaux* found at Théroüanne, and which may be attributed to that town" (3rd article), by M. Deschamps de Pas.
3. "Contemporary Numismatic History Fragments" (2nd article), by M. Brichant.
4. "Discoveries of Coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Brussels," by M. le Dr. Dugniolle.
5. "Some Unedited Coins from the Collection of the late

M. le Baron Michiels Van Verduynen" (2nd article), by M. Dumoulin.

In the *Correspondance* are various letters on Numismatic subjects, and in the *Mélanges* are notices of all the recent numismatic publications.

In the 2me *livraison* of the same Review are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity," Supplement (5th article), by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Maillet.

2. "Inedited Roman Coins," by M. G. Vallier.

3. "Numismatic Curiosities—Rare and Inedited Jetons and Coins" (18th article), by M. R. Chalon.

4. "Inedited Coins and Jetons relating to the History of the Seventeen Ancient Provinces of the Low Countries," by M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys.

5. "Seal of King Childeric I.," by M. H. Schuermans.

6. "Notice of Claude de Lorraine, called the Chevalier d'Aumale, and of a Jeton struck in his honour as Abbot of Bec, in Normandy," by M. Chantard.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. A. le Catte and from M. du Moulin to M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent publications.

"British Museum. A Guide to the Select Greek Coins Exhibited in Electrotpe in the Gold Ornament Room."

We may congratulate the public on some portion at least of the vast medallie treasures of the British Museum being accessible to the ordinary visitor, and may farther express a hope that the exhibition of this judiciously selected series may tend to awaken throughout the country a more general interest in the science of Numismatics. A mere inspection of the coins without any guide to call attention to the peculiar historical bearings of each is of but little service, and the great merit of such a guide is to place at a glance before the reader the salient points in connection with the coin he is examining, without entering into unnecessary detail. This merit may fairly be claimed for the Guide now before us, which has been prepared by Mr. Head, Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. The coins are arranged geographically in the order adopted by Eckhel, and are 209 in number, comprising characteristic specimens from each principal series. A short description is given of each in the Guide, and to most there is

added a few words by way of note, either as to the meaning and origin of the type, or as to the history of the town or country where it was struck. In many cases also references are given to classical authors whose works contain passages illustrative of the coins. The information given is such as will interest all who possess but the slightest knowledge of history, while even the practised Numismatist will probably find many facts that are new to him in glancing over the pages of the Guide. Were we to cavil at all with the manner in which the work has been done, it would be as to the spelling of the Greek names. It may be true that the coins themselves authorise such a method of spelling, but we rather doubt whether the class for whom principally the Guide is intended will recognise in "Kypros," "Kappadokia," and "Kyrene," the familiar Cyprus and Cappadocia of the Acts of the Apostles, and the "parts of Libya about Cyrene." This guide is sold in the museum at the low price of threepence. J. E.

"The Story, Partly Sad and Partly Gay, of the Thorngraston Find."

In this little quarto tract, printed for private distribution, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, the historian of the Roman Wall, gives an account of the discovery, in a quarry near the Roman station, Borecovicus, of a curious skiff-shaped bronze vessel, containing sixty silver and three gold coins, and traces the subsequent adventures of the coins themselves and of their discoverer. The former having been claimed by the Duke of Northumberland's agent as "treasure-trove," the latter declined to give them up except to the Duke himself; and having been unsuccessful in seeing him, suffered an action to be brought against him, and sooner than pay the £18 and costs with which he was saddled, was lodged for twelve months in Denbigh gaol, at the end of which term he was legally discharged, and thus retained the treasure in his possession. After hiding the coins some time in a well, Thomas Pattison, the finder, confided them to his brother; but after his release from prison, never did a day's work, wandered restlessly over the country, and soon sank into the grave. His brother, almost as impracticable a man as himself, declined to allow visitors to see the coins, but at last succumbed to the blandishments of Mr. Clayton, of Chesters, who appears to have paid for the hoard four or five times the market value of the coins.

They had, however, a historical value; the silver coins being one of Nero, three of Galba, one of Otho, fifteen of Vespasian, seven of Domitian, four of Nerva, fifteen of Trajan, and three of

Hadrian, and those of the early portion of his reign. They appear, therefore, not to have been deposited later than the reign of Hadrian, and as they were found in the quarry from which the stone for the Roman Wall seems to have been obtained, they afford evidence that the date of its erection was the time of Hadrian and not that of Severus, as had by some been believed. The three gold coins were of Nero, Claudius, and Vespasian, and among the silver coins not enumerated, were some few family coins. Of these, one was the well-known denarius of the Livineia family (Cohen, No. 1), with the two gladiators engaged with a lion and a tiger, and a bear between them. The story of William Pattison's assigning to this coin the date B.C. 1008 is amusingly told. His authority was 1 Chronicles, chap. xi. verse 22, "Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, who had done many acts; he slew two lion-like men of Moab: also he went down and slew a lion in a pit on a snowy day." Pattison recognised the man killing the lion as Benaiah, and found the date in the margin of his Bible. May no numismatist of greater experience ever commit greater errors! The discovery of how a coin of Caracalla (which had sadly perplexed the Northumbrian antiquaries) had become mixed with the coins, completes the story; for the sadness of which we may thank the law of treasure-trove, and for the gaiety, Dr. Bruce.

V.

RENSEIGNEMENTS NUMISMATIQUES SUR L'EXPRES- SION קרן, CORNU, EMPLOYÉE DANS L'ÉCRITURE SAINTE POUR DÉSIGNER MÉTAPHORIQUEMENT LA PUISSANCE.

Si j'ouvre l'excellent dictionnaire hébreu-français de Sander et de Trenel, au mot קרן, je lis ce qui suit ; “ *au figuré*, comme symbole de la force et de la puissance.” Puis viennent les exemples cités de l'écriture, et qui constatent l'emploi bien déterminé de cette expression. Le plus saillant est le suivant :—

בגדעה קרן מואב וזרעו נשברת נאם יהוה. La corne (la force) de Moab a été coupée et son bras a été brisé, dit Jehovah (de גרע abattre, couper, briser, et de שבר rompre, casser, fracturer un membre).—(Jérémie, xlviii., 25.)

Il est inutile, je pense, de multiplier les exemples de l'emploi de cette locution métaphorique, celui que je viens de reproduire suffisant amplement pour en démontrer la légitimité.

On n'avait pas jusqu' à ce jour signalé de monument numismatique qui en offrît la trace, et je vais m'efforcer de démontrer qu'il en existe : ils sont fort rares, à la vérité, mais ils n'en sont pas moins probants. Dans le magnifique ouvrage de Gesenius (*Scripturæ linguæque*

Phœniciæ, monumenta quotquot supersunt, Leipzig, 1837), je lis à la page 275 (Lib. iii. cap. 1) :—





















3. "*Carnæ*, Phœniciæ oppido, in quo navale erat Aradensium (τὸ ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀράδου. Strab., xvi. p. 753; Plin., v. 20; Steph. Byz., v. *κάρνη*); a Fr. Bayero (p. 10, ed. germ.), tribuitur numus, quem dedimus litt. D ad Bayeri delineationem, litt. E Secundum Mionnetum, tab. 25, No. 88.; duarum epigrapharum quum tanta sit diversitas, nosque numum ipsum, qui perrarus esse videtur, non viderimus, certam sententiam dicere, temerarium est. Non displicet tamen Lindbergius (p. 34), qui epigraphen litt. E legit., קרן צר, *Cornu Tyri*, quod cum Bayeri conjectura conciliari potest. Fortasse enim *Carne*, קרן צר, s. promontorium Tyri appellata est."

Un peu plus haut, même page, Gesenius avait dit :—

"In epigraphæ קרן צר, quam nonnulla exempla habent, Lindbergius Aradi nomen reperisse sibi visus est; quum vero hujus insulæ nomen in V. T. scribatur אֶרֶץ (Ezechiel, xxvii. 8, 11), eæque litteræ in paucis exemplis inveniantur, in aliis, quorum origo Aradensis multo certior est, aliæ compareant, has litteras insulæ nomen continere mihi non persuadeo: et videntur eæ potius, ut in Marathensibus tertiæ epigraphes litteræ, per compendium magistratuum nomen indicasse."

La belle et rare monnaie, dont il s'agit dans le premier passage emprunté à Gesenius, figure sur la Planche 36 de son ouvrage. En voici la description—

Obv.—Tête tourrelée de femme tournée à droite.

Rev.—Une corne d'abondance placé horizontalement; au dessus    , sous la pointe de la corne d'abondance , et au dessus, la date               

Obv.—Tête de Jupiter tournée à droite, le front surmonté d'un globe.

Rev.—Une corne d'abondance remplie de fruits et dont pend une grappe de raisin; la pointe de la corne est ornée de deux appendices en forme de fleuron; à gauche dans le champ, et en ligne verticale, la légende trilittère קרן ; à droite et parallèlement à la légende précédente la date, . . . — $\text{HNNP}\Psi$, dont la fin est oblitérée. En redressant la pièce de façon à placer la corne d'abondance verticalement, on lit à droite, et à gauche, dans le champ, au bas de la corne d'abondance et à hauteur de sa pointe la légende Δ — קו . La dernière lettre de ce mot est entièrement séparée de la légende verticale de gauche, et ne peut en aucune façon s'y rattacher, comme l'a pensé Bayer.

Æ. 22½ millimètres.

Cette légende se transcrit sans aucune difficulté, קרן et ערד.

Quant à la date qui sur la pièce de Bayer (lettre D de Gesenius) nous donne l'année 74, si nous admettons avec Gesenius que le signe H ait la même valeur que le signe N, la date de notre pièce serait 70, plus un nombre d'unités, qu'il n'est plus possible de lire. Dans tous les cas il est bien clair que les deux monnaies dont il s'agit ont été émises à deux époques fort rapprochées—disons à la même.

Le mot קרן, représente-t-il la localité Aradienne connue sous le nom de Carnè, au dire de Strabon, de Pline et d'Étienne de Byzance? cela est fort possible; mais il est fort possible aussi que ce soit tout simplement le substantif métaphorique, corne, ayant le sens de force, puissance.

Le mot ערד est-il le nom Phénicien d'Aradus? Je suis bien tenté de le croire avec Lindberg, nonobstant l'objection soulevée par Gesenius.

La forme ארד, empruntée à Ezéchiel (xxvii. 8 et 11),¹ est tellement analogue à la forme arabe actuelle—Aroûed, qu'il est bien possible que la forme Phénicienne pure ait été orthographiée différemment. Nous avons, en effet, dans les Nombres (xxi. 1) et dans les Juges (i. 16) une ville d'Arad dont le nom est écrit ערד, comme nous le trouvons ici, et nous savons, du reste, que le même nom s'appliquait souvent à des localités fort différentes, dans ce pays. Mais il demeure bien entendu que notre monnaie ne peut en aucune façon être attribuée à cette Arad qui était au sud de la Palestine. La légende קרן ערד pourrait donc s'expliquer à la rigueur par la corne d'Aradus, la puissance d'Aradus, pour Aradus la puissante, la forte. Toutefois en présence de cette légende isolée j'avoue que j'aurais peu hésité à y chercher le nom de la Carné de Strabon. Mais un heureux hasard m'a fait connaître une pièce capitale qu'il me semble permis d'invoquer en faveur de l'interprétation : *la corne d'Aradus*.

Au mois d'août dernier je recevais de M. l'Abbé Louis Fattori, Curé de Jaffa, l'ancienne Jaffia, située près de Nazareth, une lettre en date du 25 Juillet, 1870, contenant les renseignements suivants, "On m'avait dit que sous le sol de mon église il y avait un souterrain. J'ai eu la curiosité de le visiter. J'y ai trouvé divers compartiments creusés dans le roc ; la plupart étaient obstrués de terre et de gravats. J'ai voulu les déblayer, et en faisant le déblaiement, j'ai trouvé un petit vase de terre rempli de monnaies portant l'effigie de plusieurs empereurs Romains."

La lettre de Monsieur Fattori contenant des empreintes sur papier des monnaies trouvées par lui, je me suis em-

¹ Dans la Genèse (x. 18) l'habitant d'Aradus est appelé encore ארד.

pressé de les étudier avec soin. La grande majorité se compose de Potins d'Antioche, de Caracalla, de Macrin, des Philippes, de Trajan-Dèce, et de Trebonien-Galle.

Les autres sont deux G. B. de Gordien III. frappés à Tyr.

1. Elagabale de G. B. de la même ville.

1. Caracalla de G.B., que la défectuosité de l'empreinte ne me permet pas de classer.

1. G. B. Indéterminé, mais frappé à Tyr.

Et enfin un très beau G. B. de Valerien offrant les types suivants :—

Obv.—IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS. AVG. Buste lauré tourné à droite et revêtu du Paludamentum.

Rev.—CORNV. PHENICES. Temple tetrastyle vu de trois quarts ; à l'exergue, la coquille de la Pourpre, et un objet indéterminé.

Æ. 27 millimètres.

Cette monnaie d'ailleurs parfaitement conservée est la plus récente de toutes celles qui se trouvaient réunies dans le petit trésor de Jaffa. La présence de la Pourpre la classe avec toute apparence de raison à Tyr, et sa légende indubitable CORNV-PHENICES, ne peut guère s'expliquer autrement que par la corne, la puissance, la force ou l'orgueil de la Phénicie, titre pompeux appliqué à Tyr, métropole de cette province. On pourrait à la rigueur voir dans le *Cornu Phenices*, le Promontoire blanc, la Scala Tyriorum, le Ras-el-Abiadh de nos jours ; mais un promontoire n'est pas un ville qui frappe monnaie, et au Ras-el-Abiadh, pas plus qu'au cap contigu, Ras-en-Nakoura, il n'y a de traces d'une ville assez importante pour qu'un empereur Romain y ait eu un atelier monétaire : force nous est donc de nous en tenir à la leçon proposée plus haut.

Je laisse à de plus habiles le soin d'élucider cette question difficile, et je me contente de me tenir heureux d'avoir publié le premier un monument numismatique aussi curieux.

F. DE SAULCY.

Paris, le 12 Octobre, 1870.

NOTES ADDITIONNELLES.

I.

Je trouve dans le catalogue publié en 1864 par MM. Rollin et Feuardent une très intéressante mention de monnaie ainsi conçue (Page 480)—

PHOENICE IN GENERE.

No. 7250. *Obv.*—IMP. C. DIANVS Buste
lauré et drapé de Gordien III. ; à droite.

Rev.—COL. NV. PHOENICES. Temple hexa-
style vu de côté.

Æ. 7.

Il n'est pas douteux que cette curieuse monnaie, que je n'ai malheureusement pu voir en nature, ne soit un exemplaire défectueux de la pièce de Valerien décrite dans la notice qui précède. La légende, COL. NV. PHOENICES, ne serait susceptible d'aucune interprétation ; et il est bien clair que nous retrouvons ici le mot CORNU, indubitable de la belle monnaie trouvée par M. le Curé de Jaffa. Quant au mot PHOENICES, je soupçonne que par habitude de la saine orthographe des mots, le rédacteur du catalogue en question a transcrit ce qu'il devait y avoir, sans copier scrupuleusement ce qu'il y avait en réalité.

Paris, le 14 Novembre, 1870.

II.

En examinant de plus près le fouillis de pièces indéterminées qui attendent chez moi, comme dans toutes les collections, qu'une heureuse inspiration leur fasse trouver la place qui leur est due, j'ai reconnu une monnaie de cuivre malheureusement fort maltraitée par le temps, mais qui se rattache sans aucun doute aux curieuses pièces de Tyr à la légende CORNU PHENICES. En voici la description.

Obv.— CM. AVR. Buste lauré et tourné à droite d'Elagabale, avec le Paludamentum.

Rev.— V ? N Temple hexastyle vu de côté, au dessous le murex.

Æ. 19 mill. Pièce envoyée de Nazareth. Cuivre de qualité détestable.

L'existence de cette monnaie d'Elagabale me paraît prouver que le type en question a été employé assez longtemps, et que par conséquent il n'est pas certain que la pièce attribuée à Gordien III., dans le catalogue Rollin et Feuardenet, ne soit pas réellement de cet empereur.

F. DE SAULCY.

Paris, le 21 Novembre, 1870.

VI.

FARTHER NOTES ON THE GOLD COINS DISCOVERED IN 1828 AT CRONDAL, HANTS.

BY THE VICOMTE DE PONTON D'AMÉCOURT.

A Monsieur le Directeur du NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

MONSIEUR,—

Je viens de lire avec le plus vif intérêt, dans le *Numismatic Chronicle* (1870, Part III., p. 164), les nouveaux renseignements donnés par M. le Gén. J. H. Lefroy sur la célèbre trouvaille de monnaies mérovingiennes faite à Crondal en 1828.

Tout en rendant hommage à la science et au zèle déployés par Messieurs Ackerman et Lefroy pour l'interprétation de ces obscures légendes, je viens vous demander la permission de vous signaler quelques erreurs, et de donner à vos lecteurs quelques renseignements, qui seront loin de clore la discussion sur une aussi intéressante matière.

Nos. 1 et 2.—Le sens des caractères inscrits au revers et dans le champ des imitations du monnayage de Licinius, paraît avoir échappé à Mr. Lefroy. Ce numismatiste croit que les deux X ne sont pas des lettres, mais des croix. Il est au contraire incontestable que ce type est la reproduction de l'inscription VOT. XX qu'on trouve si fréquemment au revers des monnaies romaines. Les exemplaires du trésor de Crondal, au nombre de 9 sur 96, c'est-à-dire de 1-10^{me} environ de la totalité qui présentent ce type, ont cela de très intéressant, qu'ils

nous offrent le point de départ des types nombreux figurés sur les Sceattas Anglo-Saxonnes en argent et en bronze, que, dans une récente publication, Mr. Dirks désigne sous le nom de type *étendard*, parcequ'il suppose que c'est la dégénérescence d'un étendard romain (v. *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 5me Série, t. ii., p. 271). Mr. Barclay V. Head a déjà fait ce rapprochement dans son très-intéressant article du *Numismatic Chronicle*, intitulé "Anglo-Saxon Coins with Runic Legends" (1868, p. 81). Ainsi il faut noter ce fait que, dans la série de ses dégénérescences, le type immobilisé de l'inscription VOT. XX, sur un autel carré, emprunté aux monnaies de Crispus et d'autres empereurs de la même époque, a été gravé sur l'or avant de descendre sur des métaux d'une moindre valeur. Ce n'est pas un fait isolé, car je possède notamment un tiers-de-sol d'or au type dit de *Wodan* ou *Odin*, que Mr. Dirks croit avoir appartenu aux Angles-Nord (Bernicie), tandis que le type *étendard* ou *autel carré* aurait eu cours plus au sud, en Mercie, par exemple (l. l., p. 395).

No. 3.—La détermination est exacte et incontestable ; la monnaie a été frappée à Metz par le monétaire Ansoaldus.

No. 4.—Ce triens n'est pas de Léon I. (457-474), mais de Phocas (602-610). Je lis distinctement D.N. FOKA. P.P. AVG.—On a frappé en Gaule, à Marseille, Arles, Vienne, Viviers, etc., des sols et des tiers-de-sol aux noms des empereurs Maurice-Tibère (582-602), Phocas (602-610), et Héraclius (610-641). Leur type ordinaire offre au revers une croix latine accostée des initiales MA, AR, VI, VIVA, etc. Le triens de Crondal présente une Victoire et ne provient pas des ateliers du sud-est de la Gaule. Le regrettable Mr. de Salis, qui avait fait une étude spéciale des types de transition entre le monnayage romaine et le monnayage barbare, nous aurait sans doute

révélé son origine s'il n'avait pas été ravi si prématurément à la science. En tout cas, nous avons là un produit du commencement du VII^e siècle, parfaitement contemporain des espèces frappées par les rois mérovingiens.

No. 5.—Le triens est bien de Marsal, mais le vrai nom du monétaire est GISLOALDUS, et non SISLOALDUS (*Gesel-alt*, d'où *Gisloaldus*, peut se traduire par *noble compagnon, comes senior* ou *venerabilis*). Marsal, dans le diocèse de Metz, était un marché de sel fort important; un triens de cet atelier, signé du monétaire *Totus*, a été trouvé à Sibertswold, comté de Kent, à la fin du dernier siècle (v. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1845, p. 189). Cette coïncidence n'est sans doute pas l'effet d'un pur hasard; il serait intéressant de rechercher quel courant commercial a pu porter en Angleterre ces espèces si rares dans les collections françaises.

No. 6.—L'attribution à Metz est exacte, mais le nom du monétaire doit être lu : THEVDELENVS.

No. 7.—Je n'ai rien à ajouter à l'interprétation donnée par le *Numismatic Chronicle*; les monnaies frappées à Paris par St. Eloi sont précieuses à tous les titres; leur rareté, leur date certaine, la notoriété du personnage qui les a signées, l'intérêt qui s'attache aux origines de la capitale de la France, tout leur assure une place parmi les plus précieux bijoux qu'un collectionneur puisse aspirer à posséder.

No. 8.—Ne pouvant lire le nom de l'atelier, j'attribue cette monnaie, d'après son style, à l'ouest de la 3^{me} Lyonnaise, ou province de Tours, vers Le Mans. Le nom du monétaire paraît être SIGECHRAMNUS; c'est la seule restitution indiquée par la philologie de la légende inscrite au revers. *Sig* contribue comme préfixe à former les noms *Sigoaldus*, *Sigebertus*, *Sigomarus*, *Sigofridus*,

Sigolenus, Sigulfus, etc. *Chramn* apparait comme suffixe dans *Waltechramnus, Bertechramnus, Guntechramnus, Vulframnus*, etc.

No. 9.—Il faut lire : + LENNA CAS. *Rev.* AEGOALDO. Un autre exemplaire de ce triens est dans ma collection et a été attribué avec raison, par Mr. Hermand, à Lens, diocèse d'Arras, le *castrum Lenense* du XI^e siècle, et sans doute aussi *l'Elenas vicus* de Sidoine Apollinaire (v. Hadr. Vales, *Notitia Gall.*, p. 186).

Nos. 10 et 11.—+ WICCO. *Rev.* DVTTA MONETA. La présence de sept monnaies franques du même atelier, *Wiccus*, dans le trésor de Crondal, ne laisse aucun doute sur leur provenance. C'est à Quentowic qu'appartiennent ces produits du monétaire *Dutta*, et non pas au Wyck situé sur la Meuse en face de Maestricht. D'autres monétaires ont pu signer des espèces dans le faubourg de Maestricht, mais le *Wic* situé à l'embouchure de la Canche, port de transit le plus fréquenté entre la Bretagne et le Continent, sous les deux premières races des rois de France, fut l'un des ateliers les plus féconds, en même temps qu'une des places de commerce les plus importantes de cette époque. Je lui ai déjà restitué les tiers-de-sol ayant pour légende WICO IN PONTIO. Cette localité n'existe plus, mais son nom de *Quento Wic* indique la situation à l'embouchure de la *Canche*, et sa désignation de *Wic-en-Ponthieu* est encore plus précise, si, comme je le crois, la rive droite de la Canche appartenait seule au Ponthieu.

No. 12.—Au lieu de BROANMANEI, lecture proposée par Mr. Akerman, et de la version plus correcte IBBONI MAEI donnée par Mr. Lefroy, il faut lire ABBONE MVNET. C'est la signature du maître de St. Eloi, le célèbre Abbo, *faber auri probatissimus qui, apud Lemo-*

vicenses publicam monetæ officinam gerebat (Vie de St. Eloi). Je crois avoir découvert que ce personnage a commencé sa carrière de monétaire à Chalon-sur-Saône, qu'il a réuni sous sa direction les divers ateliers de cette ville, et que, quand la suppression du second royaume de Bourgogne, ou plutôt la mort de Gontran, eut diminué l'importance de Chalon et l'activité de son monnayage, Abbon, et tout un groupe de ses compagnons, notamment Saturnus, Bandegische, Betto, Domulfus, transportèrent leur art et leur industrie dans le diocèse de Limoges. Je serais même porté à croire qu'il a fait aussi un séjour dans l'Ile de Bretagne, car le type, déjà publié en France, du revers de la monnaie trouvée à Crondal, a des détails artistiques qui n'appartiennent pas à la numismatique mérovingienne. L'un des trois objets qui composent cette singulière croix à six branches, se trouve reproduit devant le profil du No. 28, et je considère ce dernier type comme Anglo-Saxon.

Le fait de l'émigration d'une colonie d'artistes de Chalon à Limoges a une certaine importance au point de vue de l'histoire de l'art ; tout le monde sait ce que fut cette école artistique de Limoges au moyen-âge et pendant la renaissance ; Abbon était l'ancêtre des Léonard Limousin, des Courtois, des Raymon, et de cette pléiade d'orfèvres-émailleurs dont les œuvres sont si recherchées aujourd'hui. La Bourgogne pourrait donc revendiquer l'honneur d'avoir allumé le foyer qui pendant mille ans a brillé d'un si grand éclat.

No. 13.—La légende est PALACIOLO, et non pas PADACIO F. O. Les empereurs romains avaient des maisons de campagne, *palatiola*, à quelque distance de leurs résidences ordinaires. Mr. Robert (*Rev. Num. Fran.*, 1863, p. 193), a retrouvé dans Pfatzel, entre Thionville et Trèves,

le *palatiolum* voisin de cette dernière capitale, et Palaiseau nous offre l'annexe du palais de Paris. C'est à cette dernière localité qu'il faut attribuer le No. 13 de la description du trésor de Crondal. La légende du revers se lit + DOMV . . . S F T, et peut désigner *Domulfus* ou *Domulenus* (F T pour *Fecit*); mais comme deux tiers-de-sol de ma collection offrent les légendes PALACIOLO. Rev. DOMOLENO, j'incline vers la dernière interprétation.

No. 14.—On rencontre en Austrasie des monnaies dont le revers offre beaucoup d'analogie avec celui-ci. Les lettres A N qui accostent la croix m'autorisent à compléter par ANTONACO la légende de l'obvers, dont les trois dernières lettres sont seules entières. Ce serait un produit de l'atelier d'Andernach, ville située sur le Rhin, entre Cologne et Coblenz.

No. 15.—Cette monnaie se rencontre assez souvent dans les collections françaises. Quoique ses légendes soient toujours barbares, et qu'on n'ait pas encore retrouvé un prototype qui en donne le sens, on peut, sans trop de témérité, l'attribuer à *Lugdunum Batavorum* (Leyde), à cause des initiales LU qui accostent la croix.

No. 16.—+ MOSA VICO. Rev. MAGNO + ALDVS. Ce triens, très-bien interprété par Messieurs Akerman et Lefroy, a été frappé à Menvy, dans le diocèse de Langres. Les anciens itinéraires mentionnent cette station située au passage sur la Meuse de la voie de Lyon à Metz, par Langres. M. de Longpérier, l'un de nos plus savants numismatistes, n'aurait certainement pas mis en avant Moisy, près Châteaudun (*Catal. Rousseau*, p. 55), s'il n'avait été entraîné par une première erreur, l'attribution à Châteaudun d'une monnaie d'Autun signalée par le même *Magnoaldus*.

No. 17.—Le style de cette monnaie révèle son origine ; elle a été frappée à Chalon-sur-Saône, ou dans une localité voisine de cette ville.

Nos. 18, 19, 20.—Il faut attendre de nouvelles découvertes pour expliquer ces monnaies.

No. 21.—On s'accorde à trouver dans le monogramme des revers de ce triens, les éléments de RVTENIS, Rodez. Le nom inscrit autour est celui du monétaire *Vindemius*.

No. 22.—Encore inexpliqué.

No. 23.—Je possède un exemplaire de cette précieuse monnaie, et je lis assez distinctement au revers : AMBALLONDENV. Je désire que ce renseignement nouveau facilite l'interprétation d'un triens dont l'importance est capitale. Quant à la légende de l'obvers, mon exemplaire, un peu rogné, ne laisse pas voir le nom de AVDVALD, mais on lit très-bien à la suite : REGES. Dans la planche du *Numismatic Chronicle*, le graveur a renversé le type du revers ; il faut remarquer que la croix, posée sur un petit globe, est la même que celle des monnaies de *Londuniu* (No. 28). Le No. 23 appartient donc au monnayage d'or des Saxons. Le type d'*Eusebius* frappé à Cantorbéry, *Dorovernis civitas* a été le premier specimen signalé aux savants de cette branche si intéressante de la numismatique de la Grande Bretagne. On se rappelle la discussion soulevée à son sujet dans les revues anglaise et française, discussion dans laquelle une victoire complète est restée à Messieurs de Longpérier et Daniel H. Haigh contre Messieurs Akerman et Cartier (*Num. Journ.* Avril, 1838 ; *Rev. Num. Franç.*, 1838, p. 469 ; id., 1841, p. 435). En 1841, Mr. Haigh citait un sol d'or d'Edouard le Confesseur, du cabinet Spurrier. Les monnaies de transition, Nos. 1 et 2 du trésor de Crondal, forment actuellement la tête de cette série ; le triens

d'*Audwald* qui nous occupe, prend une place intermédiaire, nous allons en signaler d'autres, et il suffit que cette porte soit ouverte pour que bientôt les collections s'enrichissent d'une suite d'or Anglo-Saxonne correspondant à la série mérovingienne française.

Je ferai encore, à propos du No. 23, deux remarques qui ont quelque importance; la première, c'est que sur les monnaies d'or Anglo-Saxonnes déjà signalées, le nom d'homme est inscrit à l'obvers et le nom de l'atelier au revers. Le triens de Cantorbéry porte à l'obvers EVSEBII MONITA, et au revers + DOROVERNIS CIVITAS. C'est du côté de la tête que nous lisons AVDVALD REGES, ABBONE MVNET, noms d'hommes, et autour de la croix que nous allons trouver LONDVNIV, nom de ville. D'après cela, AMBALLONDENVIS serait sans doute un nom de ville, à moins que ce ne soit le monétaire du roi *Audwald*, comme Eligius était celui de Dagobert et de Clovis II., Maximinus celui de Caribert, etc. Ma seconde observation consiste à appuyer l'opinion de Mr. Haigh, qui considère AVDVALD ou AVDVARID comme l'équivalent de EADWARD. Edward est un dérivé de Andoaldus, redoublement de *alt* (old) *ancien*; les formes de transition sont AVDOVALDVS, AVDVALDVS, AVDVARDVS, ODWARD, EVDWARD, EADWARD. Mais il me semble que c'est dans une autre série de transformations qu'il faut chercher le nom historique inscrit sur la monnaie: AVDVALD, AVDBALD, ODBALD, nom conduisant directement à EADBALD, roi de Kent de 616 à 640.

Nos. 24, 25, 26.—Ces trois types forment un groupe bien distinct, comprenant huit des 96 tiers-de-sol de Crondal. Ce fait seul milita en faveur d'une attribution

au sol Anglo-Saxon, mais cette présomption devient une certitude quand on rapproche de ce groupe celui du No. 28 (LONDEVNIV), où l'on trouve, au dessus de la tête de la face, et dans la partie inférieure du revers, des réminiscences incontestables de l'espèce d'auréole ovale qui entoure le buste de profil de nos monnaies. Je possède un exemplaire varié de cette curieuse fabrication, malheureusement la légende y est à-peu-près aussi indéchiffrable que sur les huit exemplaires de Crondal; au revers, le bas de la haste de la croix se prolonge à travers le grenetis et la légende, jusqu'au bord de la pièce.

No. 27.—Ici encore, pas d'incertitude sur l'origine; 21 pièces, c'est-à-dire plus de 1-5me de la totalité, présentent le même type; un autre exemplaire a été trouvé isolément près de Cantorbéry en 1844; voilà donc encore une monnaie d'or Anglo-Saxonne, et l'étude de son style nous guidera vers d'autres attributions. J'ai déjà signalé la connexité qui existe entre le revers des triens d'Abbon (No. 12) et l'objet placé devant le profil des monnaies du 27me groupe.

No. 28.—La réunion de six exemplaires du même type, et surtout la légende LONDEVNIV, indiquent clairement l'origine et l'atelier d'émission de cette monnaie. Quand on examine attentivement la face de l'obvers, on y voit presque une inspiration lointaine des esterlins Anglo-Normands.

Nos. 29 à 37.—Ces neuf types, inscrits sur 24 monnaies et composant le quart du trésor de Crondal, sont très grossiers; on parviendra sans doute à les classer, mais les élémens de discussion manquent encore, et j'aime mieux avouer mon ignorance que de hasarder des conjectures et d'égarer peut-être ceux qui me liront. Je suis disposé à considérer comme Anglo-Saxons les types qui se

rencontrent sur trois, quatre, cinq exemplaires à la fois (Nos. 29, 30, 31, 34 et 35); il ne faut pourtant pas oublier que nous avons rencontré deux monnaies semblables de Metz et sept de Quentowic. Il est fort possible que ces monnaies aient été émises sur le littoral de la 2de Belgique et de la 2de Germanie; la croix patée des Nos. 30 et 31 permettrait même d'attribuer ces deux types à la vallée du Rhin.

Je m'arrête, et résume en un tableau le classement des monnaies de Crondal :—

		NOMBRE.	
		de types.	d'exemplaires.
1° Monnaie des Empereurs d'Orient.			
Phocas No. 4		1	1
2° Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes.			
a. Immobilisation de types romains,			
	Nos. 1 et 2	1 t.	9 ex.
b. Barbarie, Nos. 1, 24, 25, 26.		1	8
id. No. 27		1	21
c. Première renaissance			
<i>Audvald</i> , No. 23		1	1
<i>Abbo??</i> No. 12		1	1
<i>Londuniu</i> , No. 28		1	6
		—	6 46
3° Monnaies franques.			
1re Lyonnaise, Chalon-sur-Saône, No. 17.		11.	1 p.
Menvy No. 16.		1	1
3me Lyonnaise, <i>Sigechramnus</i> No. 8		1	1
4me Lyonnaise, Paris No. 7		1	1
Palaiseau No. 13.		1	1
1re Belgique, Metz Nos. 3 et 6		2	3
Marsal No. 5		1	1
2me Belgique, Lens No. 9		1	1
Quentowic, Nos. 10 et 11.		1	7
2de Germanie, Leyde? No. 15.		1	1
Andemart No. 14.		1	1
Aquitaine, Rodez No. 21.		1	1
		—	13 20
4° Monnaies barbares incertaines, Anglo-Saxonnes ou franques, Nos. 18, 19, 20, 22, 29 à 37		13	29
Total		33	96

Si le trésor de Crondal n'a pas été le pécule d'un marchand ou d'un voyageur récemment débarqué du Continent, et si ce précieux dépôt est un spécimen pris au hasard du numéraire en circulation dans l'île de Bretagne vers le milieu du VII^e Siècle, on peut tirer deux conclusions de l'examen que nous venons de faire.

1°. Qu'un tiers environ des espèces en circulation provenait du Continent.

2°. Qu'au point de vue de l'art et de la fabrication, les monnaies mérovingiennes étaient très supérieures aux monnaies Angle-Saxonnes.

VTE. DE PONTON D'AMÉCOURT.

PARIS, le 28 Mars, 1872.

VII.

NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.

No. II.

FROM the death of Alexander III., in 1286, to the commencement of the reign of David II., there is almost an entire blank in the numismatic annals of the country. For nearly seventy years we have little or no historical trace of what was done in the matter of money. No acts of Parliament relating to the coinage have been preserved, nor any records of the mint, nor any accounts of the moneyers; and I have been unable to discover in the annals, chronicles, and historical documents, which are still extant, any notice or reference throwing any light on this period.

But though no historical evidence is at present available, we know from the coins which exist that considerable coinages must have taken place. The pennies and half-pennies bearing the name of John are comparatively numerous, considering the length of his reign; and though no difficulty or doubt exists as to their appropriation, there are several points on which it would be of the highest interest to the Scottish Numismatist to have some light thrown by history. The mint of St. Andrew's appears for the first and last time in the Scottish series

on the coins of this king (with one doubtful exception),¹ a fact which we cannot explain except by conjecture.² The word CIVITAS³ also is peculiar to this reign, and due probably to some English moneyer, though we cannot say so with certainty. That Robert the Bruce struck money is admitted by every one, and it might have been expected that such an important proof of the national independence, and the establishment of the Scottish sovereignty, would have been noticed by Barbour and the other annalists. But such is not the case, and, with the exception of a notice in the English "*Statutum de Moneta*," in 1292,⁴ permitting the currency of Scotland to pass in England, there is, in the meantime, no historical reference whatever, to illustrate the numismatic history of the reigns of John Baliol and Robert Bruce.

In considering the history of the coinage from the death of Alexander III. to that of James I., it is impossible to avoid noticing some errors which are found in Mr. Lindsay's "*View of the Scottish Coinage*." In pointing these out, I hope it will not be thought I do so with the view of detracting from the merit of that excellent numismatist and antiquary. On the contrary, it is because I esteem most highly his valuable work—the first which has attempted to give any connected historical account of the Scottish coins—that I think it is proper to point out some inaccuracies, which seem

¹ Lindsay, p. 14.

² The grant of the striking of money by Alexander III. in 1283 at St. Andrews to "God and St. Andrew" may have had some reference to the town; in which case, John Baliol might continue the privilege granted by his popular predecessor from motives of political prudence.

³ See Ruding, vol. i. p. 180, *note*.

⁴ Ruding, vol. i. p. 198.

more the result of carelessness in revision than anything else. The sort of mistakes to which I allude are very well exemplified in the account Mr. Lindsay gives of the reign of David II.: the period at which we have now arrived. He there⁵ states that the first act of Parliament relative to the coinage was passed in the year 1347, and gives two acts as passed at that time. Now the historical fact is, that these acts were not passed till 1357, ten years after the date he mentions, and then in a different order from that in which they appear in the "View," the second one being really the first. This mistake is the more surprising when it is remembered that the first volume of the folio edition of the Scots Acts (edited by Professor Cosmo Innes and Mr. Thompson), in which all these parliaments are most carefully and correctly given, was published the year before Mr. Lindsay's work appeared; nor is any reference made to these errors in any of the supplements which he more recently issued.

It is certain, however, from other evidence, that a coinage took place some time before 1357. For we learn from Ruding⁶ that a proclamation was made in England in the year 1355, forbidding any one to receive Scottish money except at an appointed value ("*ad nostrum valorem ejusdem*"), though what that value was is not specified; and by the distinct terms of a precept directed by King Edward to the Sheriff of Northumberland in the same year, which is given in full in the notes to Riddiman's Preface to Anderson's "*Diplomatum Scot. The-saurus*,"⁷ it appears that the money of Scotland referred

⁵ P. 19.⁶ Vol. i. p. 229.⁷ P. 215, Edit. 1782.

to was of less weight and coarser alloy, and had been but very lately struck in that country. Of this coinage, which probably consisted of the pennies attributed by Lindsay and Wingate to the first coinage, we have no parliamentary record.

1357. Two years afterwards, the Great Council of Scotland was summoned to meet at Scone in the month of November, and it was by this parliament that the acts noticed above were passed.⁸ The first of these provides that the king's money shall not be taken out of the kingdom, unless the exporter pay to the king half a mark; and the second, that the good money of England, both gold and silver, shall be received in Scotland according to its true value.⁹

1358. This year King David visited England,¹⁰ and if we are to believe Knyghton,¹¹ "petitioned King Edward to allow the money of England and Scotland to be interchangeably current in both kingdoms upon equal terms," which request the King of England, *in consideration of the great humility*, of the King of Scots, granted: but as no statute or proclamation exists authorising this, we may be allowed to doubt both the fact stated and the reason given for it.

1362. About this period it appears, from the accounts rendered to the Great Chamberlain of Scotland and preserved in the Chamberlain Rolls, that a certain Adam Tor, or Thor,¹² was "custos monete" at Edinburgh, and

⁸ Acts, vol. i. p. 183.

⁹ Lindsay, p. 19.

¹⁰ Hailes, vol. ii. 297.

¹¹ Knyg., col. 2619, quoted by Ruding, vol. i. 229.

¹² In Robertson's "Index of Charters" (Edin., 1798) there is a notice of a charter granted by David II. to Adam Tore, burgess of Edinburgh, of exchange in all Scotland; and another to the same party and Jacobus of Florence, of the cunzie house and

his account of receipts and expenses rendered at Stirling, in 1364, before commissioners specially appointed, is still extant.¹³ From this document we learn that during the three and a half years immediately preceding the rendering of the account, enough silver had been minted at Edinburgh to yield the king £577 10s. 2d. (Scots), at the rate of seven pennies out of each pound coined, except during the last month, when the rate was eight pennies. Out of this sum certain payments are stated to have been made to various parties; among others, to "Magister Jacobus," moneyer; to John the Goldsmith for services rendered; to Bonagius, the moneyer, for various devices graven and designed by him; and various minor payments, for gravings the irons and other purposes are also noted.

This account shows that a considerable coinage was carried on between 1360—64, which is not noticed in any existing act of parliament. We may infer from the tenor of the act of 1366, ordering a new coinage, conformable in weight and fineness to the English, that the coinage of 1360-4 was below the standard in both respects. This account is also interesting from the mention made in it of Bonagius, whose labours at the Scottish mint appear to have extended over the long period of thirty years. Mr. Lindsay has committed another very inexcusable mistake, when he says that "Bonagio of Florence" was a moneyer of *Robert II.* in 1364;¹⁴ having just stated, two pages before, that Robert II. did not succeed till 1371.

This leads us to consider whether the B which ap-

liberties; and another to John the Goldsmith of the "seying" of all the money.—Pp. 31, 36.

¹³ Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. 391, 401.

¹⁴ P. 22.

pears behind the head of some of the coins bearing the legend

✠ ROBERTVS : DEI : GRA : REX : SCOTTORVQ :

is really the privy mark of Bonagius. And I confess that I am not altogether satisfied about it. For we have the most authentic evidence, from this account in the Chamberlain Rolls,¹⁵ that Bonagius was employed in 1364, during the reign of King David II., and we learn from an act of parliament,¹⁶ the authority of which is beyond suspicion, that he was again employed in 1393, during the reign of Robert III., and yet this privy mark is never found on the coins of these two kings. Indeed, I doubt very much if these letters ever stand for the initial of the moneyer. During the reign of David II. the letter which often appears on the reverse of the coins is a D. Now we know that "Magister Jacobus"¹⁷ and Bonagius were the moneyers of that king, and the D will not stand for any of their initials. Again, we find on the great seal of this reign¹⁸ a D in the same place where the B appears on the coins of Robert, which cannot be a privy mark, nor would the initial of the engraver be allowed to appear so prominently there. The letters I G appear on the gold coins of Queen Mary, and are known¹⁹ to stand for James, Gubernator (the regent). Is it possible that the letters which appear so conspicuously on many of the Scottish coins were meant to stand either for the initial of the sovereign or of the regent or governor for the time

¹⁵ Vol. i. p. 401.

¹⁶ Acts, vol. i. p. 207; Lindsay, p. 220.

¹⁷ This was Jacobus Mulekyn, described as of Florence, and he is mentioned several times in the early charters.—See Robertson's "Index," pp. 31, 44, 70.

¹⁸ Anderson's "Diplomata," pl. liii.

¹⁹ Cardonnel, p. 30; Lindsay, p. 145.

being? Thus, Donald, Earl of Mar, was Governor of Scotland at the beginning of David II.'s reign,²⁰ and this D might either stand for the initial of the King himself or denote that the coins were struck during the regency. Similarly the T and A which occur on some of the coins of James III.²¹ might stand for Thomas, Earl of Arran, in whose hands the chief power of the state for a time centred, and who married the king's sister; and the I and A which occur on others of the same reign²² for James (Kennedy), Bishop of St. Andrews, and Alexander, one of the great family of the Boyds,²³ who held at another time the reins of government.²⁴ These are, however, mere conjectures, and have no authority, save the gold coinage of Mary, and the coincidence which exists between the names of the various regents or governors and the initials on the coins.²⁵ But this will not explain the coins of Robert having the B, (if we consider the king to be the

²⁰ Balfour's "Annals," vol. i. p. 104.

²¹ Lindsay (Silver Coins) Dec. Cat., No. 377.

²² Lindsay (Silver Coins) Dec. Cat., No. 398.

²³ Burton's Hist., vol. iii. p. 154.

²⁴ We know from Drummond, of Hawthornden's Hist., that the Boyds coined some money in this reign, though of base alloy. "Hist. of the James's" (London, 1655), p. 95.

²⁵ The letters which appear on the English gold and silver coins of corresponding periods stand either for the initial of the sovereign (Ruding, ii. 347, 348), or of the place of mint (Hawkins, 274, 275), or (in the ecclesiastical mints) for the name of the holder of the see. It must be remembered that no ecclesiastical mint existed in Scotland, and that the exclusive right of striking money belonged to the king, though exercised by the regents or governors in the name of the sovereign. Mr. Lindsay (p. 24) seems to consider the I on the coins of James III. as meant for the initial of the king's name. On some of the gold lions of James I. and II. we find I R, at the end of the legend; and on others, but very rarely, A. The I. R. is most likely for Jacobus Rex., the A probably for Archibald Earl of Douglas, Lieutenant-Governor for a very short period at the commencement of the reign of James II.

second of the name), since no regent for whom B could stand held the government during his reign. Long ago, Mr. Sutherland, the founder of the fine collection of coins in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, at Edinburgh, no mean authority in his day, believed this B. to stand for Bruce, though there is a very general unanimity of opinion amongst Numismatists that no groats were coined by Robert I. Though I am not disposed to dispute this opinion, seeing that there is no historical evidence about the reign of Bruce available, and that the argument derived from the weight of these coins inclines to their being appropriated to Robert II., still I do not think that the historical objections to the supposition that Bruce coined groats are so great as has been often supposed. Snelling²⁶ merely says that groats were first minted in the reign of David II. Cardonnel²⁷ quotes Snelling and Nicolson, and the manuscript note by Mr. Hamilton, who assigns as his reason for not giving those with the B to Robert Bruce, the fact "that groats were not minted in England till 1353, and it is hardly to be supposed that the Scots would be so long before them in this matter." Even supposing this was the case, though it is certain groats were struck in England at a much earlier date,²⁸ it is not in accordance with fact to assume that at this period the northern coinage followed the southern, in every case, invariably. Even the coins themselves bear important testimony against such a conclusion. For the English groats have the full face on the obverse, and pellets on the reverse, while the Scottish coins (down to the time of Robert III.), present the profile²⁹ on the one side, and

²⁶ P. 6.

²⁷ Preface, p. 8.

²⁸ Ruding, vol. i. p. 193; Hawkins, p. 92.

²⁹ A curious reason is given for this in Hardyng's Chron.,

stars and mullets on the other. We know that in some cases the Scottish coinage was imitated by the English. The legend DEI. GRA. appeared on the Scottish coins some time before it was adopted in England, and is first found in that country on a coin from the Berwick mint.³⁰ Round halfpennies were in use in Scotland in the beginning of the reign of Alexander III., and in the same reign the mints and moneyers were denoted by a system of secret marks, and neither of these improvements are found till some years later in the southern coinage.³¹

The constant intercourse between the Scotch and French introduces another element which we must take into consideration, when investigating any point like this ; and it appears from the authority quoted by Ruddiman,³² that large coins such as the groat were minted in France before the time of Robert Bruce.³³

On the whole, I can see no insuperable historical objection against groats being struck in Scotland by Robert I. ;

p. 87, 88 (quoted by Dr. Jamieson in an article on Scottish coins in the Royal Soc. Trans. 1834) :—

“Afore the fyft K. Henrey's day,
 Their silver coinage was as it ought to be,
 The kyng's face looked on side all waye
 To his Sovereigne (lorde) of England as I see.”

³⁰ Numis. Chron. 1871, p. 281.

³¹ Unless we consider Saxon and Irish halfpennies to have been in common use in England.

³² 180, Preface.

³³ Henry the Minstrel, in his “Book of William Wallace,” mentions groats as current in Scotland at the time of the Protector :—

“And for a strak he bad him grottis thre.”

Book ii. 35, 38. It is impossible to consider this as satisfactory evidence of the existence of Scotch groats. Henry did not compose his book till about 1470.—(*Vide* Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland.)

at the same time, it would be necessary to have authentic evidence that he did so before venturing to disturb the present arrangement, which is supported, as I have already stated, by very strong arguments, derived from the weights of the coins and by the general consent of the latest authorities.

1366. In May of this year an act was passed which is erroneously given by Mr. Lindsay as enacted in 1365. It will be found in full in the first volume of the folio edition of the Scots' Acts,³⁴ and (with the wrong date, however) in the Appendix to Cardonnel's "Numis. Scot." No. v. and the substance of it in Lindsay at p. 19.

Ruding, in a note in his first vol.,³⁵ places this act in 1347, though one of the authorities he quotes (Snelling, p. 5) correctly says it was passed in 1366. The act refers to the coinages of "Magister Jacobus," and orders a new one to be equal to the current money of England in weight and fineness, on which a notable sign is to be placed to distinguish it from the other coinages already struck; and the Chamberlain and Master Moneyer and workmen are to agree as to the fees.

1367. In October of this year the king issued a precept,³⁶ following on an enactment by Parliament the month before, addressed to the "Custos Monete" and the "Monetarius," commanding that the pound of silver be lessened by ten pennyweights, and the standard to be reduced to twenty-nine shillings and fourpence the pound tale:³⁷ and that the coinage be the same fineness of the last one, or that of England. It also orders that from every pound coined,

³⁴ Acts, vol. i. p. 139.

³⁵ Vol. i. p. 229, *note*.

³⁶ Acts, vol. i. p. 144; Lindsay, p. 218.

³⁷ Ruddiman's Preface to "Dip. Scot. Thes.," p. 126.

seven pennies shall be taken for the king, for his use ; one for the Custos for his fee, and eleven for the Magister Monetarius for himself and the workmen in the mint, leaving to the "mercator" twenty-seven shillings and ninepence.

In spite of these enactments, however, it would appear that neither this coinage nor the former one was equal to the English, for we find that in this very year, in consequence of so much light money being brought into England, proclamation was made that no money of Scotland should be current there, and that no one, either merchant or other, should pay or receive any money of the Scottish mint.³⁸

1369. Two years after, it was ordained that every one taking money, or gold, or silver out of the kingdom, without paying a duty to the king of forty pennies in the pound, shall forfeit for every penny so taken, twenty shillings.³⁹

This act closes the reign of David II. At the commencement of that of his successor we find one given in the Scots' Acts which is not mentioned at all by any of the writers on Scottish numismatics. It will be found in full at p. 183 of vol. i. of the folio edition above referred to. It was passed by the Parliament assembled at Scone on the 2nd day of March, 1371, and provides that certain duties, similar to those of the act of 1369, shall be paid by any one exporting money, &c., out of the kingdom. In this year we find from the Chamberlain Rolls⁴⁰ that Andreas Pictor was "Custos Monete" at Edinburgh.

1372. A proclamation was made in England in 1372,

³⁸ Ruding, vol. i. p. 282.

³⁹ Acts, vol. i. pp. 150, 175; Lind., pp. 19, 219.

⁴⁰ Vol. ii. p. 8.

which is very interesting, as it mentions for the first time Scottish gold.⁴¹ It forbids any one to receive Scottish gold or silver money except as bullion, and orders that if any such shall be found after a certain date, one-half shall be forfeited to the king, and one-half to the finder. It is hardly necessary to say that the extremely rare gold nobles of David II. have generally been considered as pattern pieces, and not struck for circulation. If this is the case, this allusion to Scottish gold must refer to a coinage of Robert II., much earlier than has hitherto been supposed. Mr. Lindsay says⁴² that there is nearly conclusive evidence to show that, up to 1385, no gold was coined by this sovereign; but this distinct mention of Scottish gold in the proclamation referred to, would imply that some gold currency, must have been struck before 1372.

As this is the first time we meet with Scottish gold, it may be proper to take notice of a statement made by Cardonnel,⁴³ which has not been contradicted by later writers on the Scottish coinage, referring to the mints of the gold coinage. He considers that there were several mints where the gold currency was struck, and grounds this opinion on the great variety of marks which appear in most of the reigns. I am rather inclined to think that these marks were not meant to indicate mints, but were rather the private marks of different moneyers in the earlier times, and of different issues in the later. An accurate examination and comparison of these marks is exceedingly interesting, but would require more time and space than can be given at present. The result of

⁴¹ Ruding, vol. i. 233.

⁴² P. 126.

⁴³ Pref., p. 28.

such an examination, however, combined with the information derived from the very scanty documentary and historical evidence still existing, leads me to think that the great bulk of the gold coinage, with possibly a few exceptions in the earlier reigns, was struck at Edinburgh.

1373. In this year Thomas de Stratherne was "Custos Monete" at Perth, and Andreas Pictor at Edinburgh; and from their accounts, still preserved in the Chamberlain Rolls, it appears that, both this year and the following, considerable coinages took place.⁴⁴ But it is also evident that no improvement was made in the standard, for a proclamation of this date is given by Ruding⁴⁵ ordering that fourpence Scotch was to be made equal to threepence English, and the same proclamation was made again the following year at Berwick.

1376. The Commons of England petitioned at this time⁴⁶ to be relieved from the burden of returning forfeitures of Scottish money to the Exchequer. Shortly after this, the connection of Jacobus Mulekyn with the Scottish mint probably ceased; for in 1377⁴⁷ we find that a present of money was made him by the king, which is duly entered in the accounts.

1381. A coinage probably took place not long before this; for in the informations which were taken previous to the passing of the English act of this year (and given by Ruding),⁴⁸ a new and evidently very light Scottish coinage is referred to.

1385. An act of the Scottish Parliament was passed in June of this year, which will be found given in full at

⁴⁴ Vol. i. p. 233.

⁴⁵ Cham. Rolls, ii. 22, 50.

⁴⁶ Ruding, i. 233.

⁴⁷ Cham. Rolls, ii. p. 94.

⁴⁸ Vol. i. 239-41; Lindsay, p. 21.

p. 190 of the Scots' Acts, vol. i. ; and in Mr. Lindsay's Appendix, p. 219, where the date is correctly stated, though it is given differently in the work itself.⁴⁹ This act provides that the money to be struck shall be similar to what was then current, and then continues: "*Et hoc fiat de quocunque billon sibi allato tam de moneta extranea quam de vasis et allis argenteis et reddat de libra ponderis, viz.: viginti novem solidos et quatuor denarios* (as it was in the preceding reign) *nostre pecunie illis qui sibi tradiderint novos blancos* ("albos" has been written in the original, but is scored out, and "blancos" substituted) *Francie pondus pro pondere de nostre monete excepto quod perdunt pro fabrica iilius libre sex blancos.*"

Then follows the price at which various foreign gold coins are to pass, and the act closes with even more stringent provisions than usual for preventing the export of money out of the kingdom.

1387. In this year again the money of Scotland was proclaimed in England, and the former valuation of one-fourth less than the nominal value more strictly enforced.⁵⁰

This closes the reign of Robert II., during which the money of the realm was gradually but surely depreciating in value: a fact which is strikingly illustrated in the commencement of that of his successor, for in 1390, the Commons of England petitioned⁵¹ that the money of Scotland be utterly removed out of the kingdom; but this request was not acceded to, though the value was reduced to one-half, which was again confirmed in the following year.

In 1393 a very important act was passed at Perth, in

⁴⁹ P. 21.

⁵⁰ Ruding, i. p. 344; Lind., p. 22.

⁵¹ Ruding, i. p. 244.

October, which is given in full in the Appendix to Mr. Lindsay's work, and a resumé of it at pp. 22, 128. It is chiefly interesting as being the first act we have extant which orders and describes a gold coinage; and also for the full account it gives of the various officials and their duties, and the general working, of the ancient Scottish mint.

There is very little doubt but that, in the earlier times, the moneyers accompanied the king and court from place to place, and struck money whenever it was necessary to do so.⁵² Latterly, they seem to have been established in certain towns, and regular officers appointed and regulations made for their guidance.⁵³ When this change took place we are unable to say, but most probably during the reign of Alexander III., for the long single-cross coins have their mints and moneyers distinguished by combinations of stars and mullets on the reverses. In the reign of David II. we have the first mention of the "*Custos Monete*," or warden; and also of the "*Magister Monetarius*," or master coiner. This act of 1393 defines the respective duties of these officers, and provides, in the first place, that Bonachius of Florence shall make the money; and next, that some one "*discretus fidelis sufficiens et potens in divitiis*," shall be elected to be warden of the mint, who shall be sworn to perform truly his duties; and these are, that he shall cause to be carefully weighed all the gold and silver which shall be brought to the moneyer to be coined, and shall take and keep an account of these; and every evening, after the day's work

⁵² Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson, p. 140.

⁵³ The right of coining money belonged solely to the Crown; but any change must be sanctioned by Parliament."—(Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. p. 157).

is over, he shall receive the coining-irons with which the moneyer strikes the money, and shall keep them in safe custody, under lock and key, till next morning. And he shall receive the money which is made each day from the moneyer, and shall place it in a coffer (*cista*) under seal and key; and every week, in the presence of sufficient witnesses, he shall take a note of how much, both gold and silver, has been made during the week, and select certain pieces, which he shall well and truly keep until a trial is made of them, which trial shall take place within forty days. And the warden shall be responsible for the correct weight of money coined, and shall receive from the king the fees which have been customary. And if the warden, or the person appointed to examine the money, or the moneyer, shall fail to do their duty, or if they make false money, or use such, or permit it to be used, they shall be punished as the law directs: nor shall the king himself have any power to grant to such any pardon or remission of their sentence.

This is, so far as I know, the first statutory provision made for the trial of the money.

1394. Scottish gold and silver were forbidden in England in this year, except as bullion.

1398. The act of 1398 was passed at Perth in the month of March, and will be found at p. 210 of the first vol. of Scots' Acts, and is also given by Mr. Lindsay in his Appendix, p. 222, and a summary of it at pp. 23 and 128. After enacting certain values for the foreign gold coins, it specifies the various gold coins which are permitted to be current. Among those we find enumerated are lions and half-lions. The lion is probably the coin ordered by the act of 1593, as it is there called "*de bono auro una pecia vocata Leo*;" but that act contains nothing about any coin-

age of half-lions. It mentions⁵⁴ mailles, and orders them to be current at a given value. Some of the lions usually appropriated to Robert II. correspond very closely in weight with what the half of the "Leo" of 1393 ought to be, and as these must have been in existence then, and cannot be included under any of the other gold coins mentioned, the probability is, that the expression "half-lion" covered all these smaller gold pieces of Robert II. and III., even though their weights may not have exactly corresponded; and this conjecture is strengthened by the fact that in the list of values given—though the "Leo" is fixed at five shillings—no sum is specified for the half-lion, which was left to be regulated by the weight. Indeed, the weights of these earliest gold pieces are most perplexing, scarcely two being alike.⁵⁵

Some time about this period a charter was granted to Thomas the Moneyer, appointing him Master of the Office of Coining. Whether this Thomas was the Thomas Melvill who had also a charter to the same effect along with Galfour Goldsmith in the same reign is uncertain.⁵⁶

1401. The Commons of England again enacted, in this year, that the money of Scotland should only have the value of the amount of good metal contained in it, or else that it should be "voided out of the realm."

1402. The reign of Robert III. is remarkable for the first introduction of a billon coinage into Scotland. In this year (1402) we find mention of base "halfpennies" of Scotland, in a petition from the Commons of England quoted by Ruding.⁵⁷ Mr. Lindsay⁵⁸ mentions, as a proof that Robert III. coined billon, the notice of these

⁵⁴ Lindsay, p. 129.

⁵⁶ Robertson's Index, pp. 39, 142.

⁵⁸ P. 73.

⁵⁵ Wingate, p. 41.

⁵⁷ Vol. i. p. 250.

coins in 1406, the first year of James I., and rightly conjectures these to have been struck in the reign of his predecessor, but he has omitted to note this mention in 1402, which was three years prior to the death of Robert III. The introduction of this base coinage provoked remonstrances from the English parliament, who petitioned that the importers of this base money should be liable to capital punishment, which was not, however, granted. These remonstrances were repeated in 1411, 1415, and 1423.⁵⁹

The reign of James I. opened in 1406, but the first acts of parliament, in which any mention of money is made, were not passed till May, 1424. These acts are curious, as showing the somewhat imperious language in which the Scottish parliament "determined and ordained that our Lord the King gar mend his money." They will be found in the second volume of the Scots Acts (folio edition) at pp. 5, 6, and in Cardonnel's Appendix, p. 8, and a notice of them at p. 26 of Lindsay's work. They provide that exporters of gold and silver, or money out of the realm, shall pay forty pennies out of every pound, or if they do not, and are apprehended endeavouring to evade the custom, they shall forfeit the money and pay £10 Scots besides. The money was ordered to be of the same weight and fineness as the English, but it is

⁵⁹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 253, 257, 270. A mint was said to have existed in Glasgow in the time of Robert III. in the Dry Gate. This is noticed in Clelland's "Annals of Glasgow," p. 5, also in Ure's "History of Glasgow," p. 95. See Wingate, p. 145. I have not yet got any satisfactory original authority for this statement, though in the *Liber Collegii Nostri Dom.*, p. 250, in a writ dated 1435, mention is made of the "*Cunyhe ad comunem viam ex parte australi*;" and in the Register of Glasgow (p. 500) notice is taken of a tenement "*jacens super le West Cunze*."

left to the king's pleasure to strike it ("quhen him lykis"), and when he sees it to be profitable for the realm; a contingency which apparently never took place.

1425. The following year another parliament was held at Perth, which enacted⁶⁰ that further provision be made for keeping money in the realm, and also for bringing in bullion. These acts throw little light on the coinages of this reign, but fortunately the Chamberlain Rolls contain some references which are of great importance. The first of these will be found under the year 1434, at p. 245 of the third volume. It is the account of Robert Gray, master of the mint, and shows that about this time a coinage of gold and silver had taken place. This Robert Gray is first mentioned in the Rolls in 1429,⁶¹ and his name constantly occurs afterwards up to 1438. He seems to have minted entirely at Edinburgh, though groats of several other towns are known to exist.⁶² It is a corroboration, to some extent, of the conjecture hazarded before, that the initials on the prominent part of the coins are the initials either of the kings themselves, or their regents, that on the Edinburgh groats of this reign, when we know Robert Gray was moneyer, the initial which appears is I.

The distinct mention of a coinage of gold in the year 1434 raises a very difficult question.⁶³ We have evidence of at least two coinages of gold in this reign, this one

⁶⁰ Scots' Acts, vol. ii. p. 9; Cardonnel's App., p. 9; Lindsay, p. 26.

⁶¹ Vol. iii. p. 187.

⁶² Wingate, p. 54.

⁶³ Mr. Lindsay gives a very strange heading to the extracts about this coinage in his Appendix, p. 224. These references are all found in the Chamberlain Rolls, at the pages and in the vols. noted by him, though they are made to appear as if they were "*excerpta e Libris Sententiarum officialis S. Andreæ.*"

in 1434 and another in 1436. The latter coinage extended over two years, and was apparently a very extensive one, though a very small part of it, as we shall presently see, can be assigned to James I. Mr. Lindsay⁶⁴ considers the St. Andrews with XPC. RÆGNAT, &c., to be the first coinage, and the “demy,”⁶⁵ or lozenge lion, to be the second, though he also states in the same page that the “demys” were probably struck before this coinage of 1436. No authority is given for this latter statement by Mr. Lindsay; but a “contemporary account,” which is given by Pinkerton⁶⁶ would seem to confirm this view. It states that James I. offered a reward to any one who would slay or capture Sir Robert Græme of “iij thousand demyes of gold, every pece worth half an English noble.” This reward must have been offered between the parliament of 1434 and that of October, 1436, and probably in the beginning of the latter year. As these English nobles were most likely what are constantly called⁶⁷ in old Scottish accounts the “Harry” noble, the half⁶⁸ would agree in weight, or very nearly, with the weight of the lozenge lion, viz., 52½ grs. when well preserved. If we accept this view (that the lozenge lions are the “demys” mentioned in the proclamation) then the St. Andrews must have been struck at an earlier period, probably at the beginning of the reign. It is possible, however, that the term “demy”

⁶⁴ P. 131.

⁶⁵ This is apparently called “demy” from being equal to the half of the English noble. It is not the half of any Scottish coin.—Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 440, 445.

⁶⁶ Vol. i. Appendix.

⁶⁷ Acta Dom. Audit., p. 60, &c.; Ledger of Halyburton, *passim*.

⁶⁸ Ruding, ii. p. 347.

may have been used to designate any coin which was equal to the half of the English noble; and as the St. Andrew of this reign is as nearly as possible, of the same value, the reward may have been merely equal to 3,000 in any coins, each equal to the English half noble: but I am rather inclined to think, in the meantime, that this term was, at any rate latterly, confined to the lozenge lion, though Pinkerton says very distinctly that the St. Andrew bore the name of demy.⁶⁹

In 1436 were passed the acts given in Cardonnel's Appendix, pp. 9, 10, c. 143, 149. They provide for certain payments in bullion by the merchants, and prohibit the export of any of the precious metals out of the country. Nearly at the close of this year,⁷⁰ on the night between the 20th and 21st of February, King James was murdered at Perth by Sir Robert Græme and his accomplices. The date of this event is placed by Mr. Lindsay one year later ⁷¹ than it really took place, a very important mistake, as it affects his arguments on the appropriation of coins in all the metals. Though several historians give the date 1437-8, there is no doubt whatever that the proper one is 1436-7. It is not necessary to enter here on any detailed proof of this. It will be sufficient to note that the earlier date is proved by the first parliament of James II.⁷² which met very shortly after his father's murder, on the 25th of March (New Year's day, O.S.), 1437; and by the epitaph on the royal tomb, given in the extracts "*ex variis Chronicis Scociæ.*" It is also adopted by all the best authorities, including Pinkerton; Wood, (in his edition of Douglas's "*Peerage*;" Sir H. Nicolas in his "*Chronology*"; Mr. Chalmers (author of "*Caledonia*"),

⁶⁹ Pinkerton's Hist., vol. i. p. 411.

⁷⁰ 1436.

⁷¹ 1437-8, pp. 26, 27, 174, 133.

⁷² Scots' Acts, vol. iv.

in his "Poetic Remains of the Scottish Kings;"⁷³ Tytler and Hill Burton; and is examined at great length by Rudiman, in his "Notes to Buchanan's History."

The account of Robert Gray's is divided into two periods; the first beginning at the 14th September, 1436, and ending on the 24th December, 1437; and again from that date to the 18th July, 1438. According to Mr. Lindsay's view, the whole of the first period, and a part of the second, belonged to the reign of James I., whereas really only that part which extends from the 14th of September to the 20th of February, 1436 (O.S.), can be appropriated to that king. In other words, the relative proportions of time given to each king are just reversed; the whole period of twenty-two months being divided by Mr. Lindsay into five months to James II. and seventeen to James I.; while it ought to be seventeen months to James II. and five only to James I.

The effects of this mistake will be more fully seen when considering the history of the coinage during the reign of James II.

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

VIII.

SASSANIAN COINS.

(Continued from p. 59.)

HORMAZD I. A.D. 271.

NUMISMATISTS have naturally been anxious to discover specimens of the mintages of the fourth monarch of the Sassanian line; some such aspiration seems to have led both Dr. Mordtmann and M. de Bartholomæi to attribute pieces of contrasted types to that sovereign, in the assignment of either of which I am unable to concur. The brief and inactive reign of Hormazd I. may reasonably have circumscribed his original issues, and the practice of recoinage all the accessible money of a deceased king, on each new accession, would have gone far to condemn his restricted monetary records to the contemporary melting-pot.¹

Dr. Mordtmann's proposal to transfer the coins published by me in vol. xv. of this Journal² from Hormazd II. to Hormazd I. may be negatived at short notice; the coins, more fully described below, will reassert their own posi-

¹ "Lorsqu'un nouveau roi de Perse montait sur le trône, on fondait toute la monnaie existant dans le trésor royal et on refrappait à son effigie."—Moses of Khorene, i. iii. cap. li; *Journal Asiatique* (1866), p. 118.

² O.S. (1852) p. 182, Nos. 8-11. Nos. 36, &c., *infra*.

tion in the numismatic serial order, as the undoubted produce of the mints of the first-named king.

The late M. de Bartholomæi was under the impression that he had secured an unquestionable specimen of the money of Hormazd I. This piece has been figured in the unpublished copper-plate engravings, which are now in circulation in view to the sale of his collection, and presents so many points of similarity to the acknowledged issues of Varahrán III., that there can be little hesitation in claiming it for that king. The obverse head discloses a tiara but slightly differing in the subordinate ornamentation from the canonical cap and globe of Varahrán III.; and the details of the costume and the arrangement of the hair and beard are nearly identical with the same original. The bar or cheek-plate, attached to the helmet-crown, so constant in the coins of Sapor I., and which duly reappears in the portraits of his grandson, is altogether wanting in the piece in question; and parallel typical objections present themselves with even greater force in the attitude of the supporters of the altar and the absence of the conventional javelins.

It must be admitted that there are traces in the engraving of the name of Hormazd on the reverse, but they are far too imperfect to be relied upon, and even if conclusively confirmed, might only serve to establish that the coin was an early production of Hormazd II. before he had finally fixed upon the typical tiara by which he was to be officially recognised. But I would warn my readers that they must be prepared to meet with very eccentric employments of *reverses* in this series—a practice which descended in due course to the early Arabian conquerors, as shown in their imitative Sassanian and their later *Kufic* currencies.

The Armenian historians inform us that the device on the royal seal of the Sassanians was a wild boar.⁴

No. 25. Pl. III., fig. 3.

Obv.—Device as in fig. 2, except that the prince presents a diadem.

Other examples of this coinage complete the Queen's tiara with a beautifully executed head of an antelope.

Legend, imperfect, *Mazdisan* . . . *Varahrán*.

Rev.—The king and queen worshipping at the Fire-altar.

The former has his hand raised in the attitude of salutation, the latter offers a chaplet. Monogram, Ferohar symbol and ☸. These triple-stars seem to have once constituted a division of the seven planets. See Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxii., fig. 11, xlii., fig. 12, liv., fig. 5, lxix., fig. 16, &c.

Legend, *Varahrán Nuwázi*.

No. 26. Pl. III., fig. 4.

Obv.—Device as in fig. 3, but the prince's tiara is ornamented with the crest of a boar's head.

Legend, imperfect, in badly formed letters.

Rev.—As in fig. 3.

Legend, obscure.

No. 27. Pl. III., fig. 5.⁵

Obv.—Profiles of the king and his son.

Legend, imperfect, traces of *Mazdisan*. . . *Varahrán*.

Rev.—The king with a mobed, armed with swords and javelins, protecting the Fire-altar, as in the coin of *Varahrán I.*, Pl. III., fig. 1.

⁴ "Le Sceau de Perse consistait en un anneau portant gravée l'effigie d'un sanglier '*varaz*.'"—*Jour. Asiatique* (1866), pp. 113, 221; Authorities quoted: Moyse de Kaghankatouts, l. ii. c. i.; Faustus de Byzance, cap. liii. See also De Sacy, 189, and Bar-Hebræus *Chron. Syr.*, pp. 99 et seq. One of Khusrú Parvîz's seals of state "avait pour effigie une tête de porc."—*Mas'audi*, ii. p. 280.

⁵ See also Mr. Basires' engraving of the same coin, *Num. Chron.*, vol. xv. o.s., pl. p. 180, fig. 5.

No. 28. Fig. 4. Plate (p. 180), Num. Chron. xv. o.s.
Unique coin. Brit. Mus.

Obv.—Profiles of the king and queen; the latter has a curiously embroidered cap, without any apparent crest. The border ornament of the head-dress is identical with the scroll pattern in use on the Indo-Parthian coins lately described in this Journal.⁶

Legend, imperfect, the latter portion expressed in ill-defined illegible letters.

Rev.—The king and a mobed supporting the Fire-altar, as in the last coin (Pl. III., fig. 5). Monogram, a group of three dots, or planets.

Legend, undecipherable.

No. 29. Fig. 6. Plate (p. 180), Num. Chron. xv. o.s.

Obv.—Device as in fig. 2, Pl. III.

Legend, transcribed in Hebrew characters.

מזדיסן בגי ורחראן מרכאן מרכא איראן ו אניראן

Mazdisan Bagi Varahrân Markân Markâ Airân wa Anirân.

Rev.—Fire-altar, supported by the king and a mobed, as in Pl. II., fig. 5. Monogram on side of the altar 𐎧𐎡𐎹.

Legend, אטור זי לדי ורחראן

Atûr zi ladi [kadi] Varahrân.

“Fire of King Varahrân.”

I have ventured to propose the emendation of the more obvious reading of the letter } l, in *Ladi*, and the substitution of } or *k*, mainly upon the question of sense. *Ladi*, as far as I am aware, has no appropriate meaning in this place, and the alternative, *Rati*, is inadmissible, because we have on this same coin, properly formed ר's, (R's) in the reverse legend.

The word answering alike for God and King, *Kadi*,

⁶ Num. Chron. N.S., x. 144.

retained more especially in the eastern division of the Sassanian dominions, does not occur on the coins until the time of Yesdegird II. (A.D. 438—457); but it is constant on the abundant money of his successor, Firoz, as *the* sole titular prefix. The title, however, must have had a very early currency, as we find the “Book of Kings” designated as the *Khudá Námah*, in preference to our later term of the *Sháh Námah*;⁷ and its special application in the eastern provinces is proved by the retention of the term, in association with the government of Khorásân, by Khusrú *Parvîz*, who made use of a special seal for that section of his kingdom, inscribed with the words *Khorásân Khudá*. I need not add, that if the above interpretation holds good, it for ever puts an end to the idea of *Núwâzi* referring to anything but the Fire-altar itself; though I do not wish to anticipate the more complete evidence which the coins themselves will yet afford towards demolishing Dr. Mordtmann’s ideal “song of praise.”

VARAHRAN III. Segán Sháh.⁸ A.D. 292.

No. 30. Pl. III., fig. 6.

(The same coin was engraved by Mr. Basire in the Num-Chron., vol. xv., fig. 3.)

⁷ See Mas’audi, ii. 228, 237; M. Muhl, Preface to *Sháh Námah*, p. x.; Journal Asiatique, 1869, p. 227; J. R. A. S., iii. n.s., pp. 34-5; Fox Talbot. “*Malka*” often means a god in Phœnician (see also my “Sassanian Inscriptions,” p. 44, and J. R. A. S. n.s., iii. 284; Hamza Isfahâni, “*Kad*” Sedjan Sháh, p. 37; Ibn Khordâdbah; J. Asiatique, 1865, p. 40; “*Khotlán Khudá*,” “*Bukhâra Khudá*,” &c.).

⁸ Σεγάν δὲ σαὰ ἐπεκλήθη, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς, οἶμαι, οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως, ἔθους τινὸς παλαιοῦ μετασχὼν καὶ πατρίου. οἱ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος Οὐαραράνῃ τῇ τοῦδε πατρὶ ἐδεδούλωτο, εἰκότως ἄρα ὁ παῖς Σεγανσαὰ ἐπωνόμαστο· δύναται γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεὺς.—Agathias, iv. 25.

Legend (restored). نرسې نووازي = 𐭮𐭲𐭱𐭮 𐭮𐭲𐭱𐭮

The Fire-altar of Narses.

No. 32. Pl. III., fig. 9. Similar coin.

No. 33. Pl. III., fig. 10. Similar coin.

There is only a single inscription and bas-relief of Narses at present known, that sculptured on the rocks at Sháh-pûr. Narses is represented as a comely youth with a light moustache and incipient beard, which, however, is tied determinedly towards the point, after the fashion affected by Sapor I. The hair is curled in full and smooth ringlets. His dress, like that of the associate figure of Ormazd, is unusually simple. He wears a coronet with sharp spikes, closer set than the more cumbersome rays employed by Varahrán I.; the authorised balloon crest and floating fillets complete the picture.

Narses appears from the arrangement of the bas-relief, to be in the act of receiving his investiture as a king from the hands of Ormazd. The inscription is brief, and merely to the usual effect of notifying the style and titles of the new king; there is, however, this peculiarity attaching to it, that it declares Narses to have been the son of Sapor and grandson of Ardeshr, whereas he is ordinarily held to have been the son of Varahrán II. The omission of his less exalted predecessors may, however, have been intentional.⁹

HORMAZD II. A.D. 301—309.

No. 34. Pl. III., fig. 11.

Obv.—King's head with winged crown, surmounted by the head of an eagle holding a pendant pearl in his

⁹ See Morier's "Travels in Persia" (1812), pl. xxix. pp. 87, 867; Flaudin, pls. 45, 52, text, vol. ii. p. 270; and my "Sassanian Inscriptions," p. 102.

beak, above which appears the ordinary globe studded with dots. The hair is arranged in flowing curls, and the carefully dressed beard terminates in a large jewel.

Legend (imperfect).

مزدیسن بگی اوهرمزدي مرکان ایرن منوچتری من یزدن

• مزدیسن بگی اوهرمزدي مرکان ایرن منوچتری من یزدن

Rev.—Fire-altar with the head of Ormazd issuing from the flames; the King and mobed face the altar with swords at guard.

Legend. اوهرمزدي نووازي = مژدسپه گود مژدسپه گود

Hormazd's Fire-altar.

No. 35. Pl. III., fig. 12. A similar coin, varying slightly in the reverse.

No. 36. Num. Chron., vol. xv., p. 180, fig. 8.¹⁰ Gold. Weight, 111 gr. *Unique*.

Obv.—King's head to the right, with the details sufficiently in unison with, but possibly supplying an earlier portrait than the ordinary Western coins. The crest is formed of a lion's head and flowing mane, as in the classical representations of Hercules, above which rises a large, boldly-developed flower (possibly intended to convey the idea of flames), in lieu of the conventional globe, from which depend the flowing Sassanian fillets.

Legend. مژدسپه گود مژدسپه گود

Mazdisan Bagi Auarmazi Labākūshān Malkān Malkā.

"The Ormazd worshipper, divine Hormazd, the lion-slaying 'King of Kings.'"

Rev.—The ordinary Fire-altar, differing only in the breadth of the ornamental Sassanian ribbons, supported,

¹⁰ Reproduced in stamped fac-simile in Dr. Mordtmann's, pl. vi. fig. 5, *Zeitschrift*. The author, as I have already remarked, desires to alter the attribution proposed by me, and to assign the piece to Hormazd I. (p. 37). He likewise refuses to accept the reading of "Lion-slaying," and adheres to "Bag (i) Ruchan." See also *Zeitschrift* (1865), p. 423.

on the one side, by the king habited as on the obverse, and on the other, by the figure of Ormazd himself (who is known by the rayed crown and the heavy baton or sceptre), and who extends the characteristic diadem of the Sassanians towards the young king.¹¹

Legend, to the right, מזדיסן בגי *Mazdisan Bagi*
 above the altar; אוהרמזדי *Auharmazdi*
 do. מלכי *Malki*
 to the left, לבאכושאן *Labākūshān*
 below the altar, מלכאן מלכא *Malkān Malkā*

The translation here given of lion-slaying not only accords with the requirements of the typical representation, but commends itself in the fact that the device of the king killing a lion formed the special royal device of the Achæmenians, from whom the Sassanians affected to have descended.

No. 37. Pl., p. 180, vol. xv., Num. Chron., o.s., fig. 11. Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, with lion-skin as in the last coin.

Legend, אוהרמזדי לבאכוש מלכא
Auharmazdi Labākūsh Malkā.

Rev.—The Indian divinity *Siva*, with his special *Vāhana* or "Vehicle," the Bull *Nandi*.¹²

¹¹ Ormazd is represented under exactly the same guise in the sculptures of Tāk-i-Bostān (Ker Porter, pl. xxiii., Flandin, pl. xiv.), and many of the details of his personal and other attributes are preserved in the sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam, where his identity is clearly established by the Greek inscription on his horse of ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΟΝ ΔΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ.

¹² See Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua," p. 350, pls. x. 5-21, xi. 1-9, xiv. 12-17, xxi. 17; Prinsep's "Indian Antiquities," pls. xxii. 2, 4, 5, 6. In speaking of these and cognate classes of coins, Professor Wilson remarks:—"Although the introduction of the Fire-altar intimates the recognition of the worship

No. 38. Pl., p. 180, vol. xv., Num. Chron., fig. 9.
Small copper coin.

Obv.—Head as above.

Legend, מלכא מוזד' מלכא

Auharmazdi Malká.

Rev.—The king with a second figure, making offerings at a small altar, of the type peculiar to the Indo-Scythian kings of Bactria, &c.¹³

No Legend.

No. 39. Pl., p. 180, Num. Chron., vol. xv., fig. 10.
Small copper coin.

Obv.—As above.

Rev.—A large Fire-altar occupying the entire field. Pehlvi letters *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 Sini?*

Better specimens in the collections of Lady Sale and Col. W. Anderson give the legend as *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀 Stán-desti*, or preferably *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀 Stán-rásti*. "Tabernacle of truth."

Such a rendering would accord with an elevated tone of faith and reverence for the ostensible symbol of worship beyond what we might be prepared to expect; but the *Stán* (*Istán*) "place," &c. (the Sanskrit *Sthāna* from *sthá*, "to stand;" Zend *Ṣtāna*),¹⁴ is clear and obvious;

of fire, yet the presence of the trisula or trident is an indication of the concurrent worship of Siva . . . These evidences of Saiva worship are corroborated by the types on the reverses. The most frequent is a figure of Siva . . ., and which is sometimes, what it probably always should be, of an androgynous outline, the figure being that of Siva and his spouse in their composite character of *Arddha nārīswara*, Siva half-feminine."

¹³ *Ariana Antiqua*; Kadphises series, pl. x.; Kanerki, pls. xi. xii. xiii. xiv.; Prinsep's Essays, pl. vii. figs. 7-10; xxii. figs. 4, 5, 6; J. A. S. Bengal, vol. iii. pl. xxv.; vol. iv. pl. xxxviii.

¹⁴ The use of the Pehlvi word in this sense is very frequent

and the associate *Rásti* is the prevalent word for "truth," which will be seen to figure as a constant adjunct to the Fire-altar in later reigns.

No. 40. Small copper coin, *unpublished*, in the Stacy Collection, Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Obv.—As above.

Legend, אהרמזדי מלכא *Auharmazdi Malká.*

Rev.—Medium sized Fire-altar, from which rises the figure of Ormazd, holding a spear in the one hand, and a Sassanian diadem in the other.

Legend, מורתא אבסתר *Avasta Múrta*, "Image of Avesta," i.e. of Ormazd. (?)

The uprising, half-length of Ormazd is of itself suggestive of the interpretation of *Múrta*, though the Sassanian *u* and the *r* are convertible, and the final *á* unusual; but the vernaculars of the Sanskrit *Múrti* (from *Múrta*) range over various pronunciations of the oft-recurring term for "statue, idol, image;" for instance, *Múrat*, *Múрати*, *Múrta*, and *Múrt*, &c. The rendering of *Avesta* may be more open to criticism, but the Pehlvi letters 𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀 *Auástá* are distinct, though their exact phonetic rendering may present difficulties. The true orthography and derivation of the word *Avesta* are still open questions. Spiegel gives the term as 𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀; ¹⁵ Haug, as 𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀 "*Avas-ták*;" ¹⁶ but the latter is anything but clear about the primary meaning, which should serve to check the later corrupt versions.

The exceptional Sassanian devices just described, point,

on gems and seals. See *Stan Atiri* "Place of Fire," *J. R. A. S.* xiii. 419, fig. 21; and Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xlv., fig. 11; Meisdemann, *Gem.* No. 26.

¹⁵ "The Traditional Literature of the Persians," Vienna, 1860, p. 358.

¹⁶ An old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary, p. 78.

with sufficient clearness, to associations with the dominions of the contemporary kings of the East, the successors of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythic dynasties¹⁷ with whom Hormazd II. is known to have had intimate relationship by marriage, which fact may have led him to adopt, in a complimentary sense, their religious emblems, or otherwise, in virtue of cession or conquest, he may have affected the display of the local types as indicative of extended boundaries.

As the history of these national and religious emblems is full of interest, I may be permitted momentarily to glance at their growth and development in illustration of our present inquiry.

It would seem as if half the gods of Asia had sought refuge in Ariana, and formed a new Olympus, where the representatives of the Mythologies of many nations consented to republican equality; at least the coins of the Kanerki, at or about the commencement of our era, disclose the typical figures of the Vedic Theogony with the contrasted forms of the ancient Persian nature-worship,¹⁸ modified by Mithraic influences, in concurrent acceptance with the more recent developments of Brahmanic image-worship and the representations of BUDDHA, *Sákya Muni*.

¹⁷ There are other points of identity in the corresponding Indo-Scythian coinages of the post-Greek period—for instance, some of the coins of the type figured as fig. 17, Pl. xiv. AA., exhibit the eagle's-beak crest, fig. 16 has the surmounting flame noticed above in coin No. 86, and a new coin of Col. Guthrie's (like AA. xiv. 17) contributes a well-defined tiger's head, the prototype of the Indo-Sassanian head-pieces engraved in A.A. xvii. 8, xxi. 22, and finally the Indo-Scythian pieces themselves are simultaneously affected by Sassanian influences.

¹⁸ Herodotus I. 181, iii. 8. Strabo XV. iii. 13. Agathias ii. 24. See also Sir H. Rawlinson, J.R.A.S., xv. 247.

The Greeks in their Eastern conquests carried with them their system of emblazoning the coinage with the forms of their divinities, and Bactria and its contiguous provinces retained, after the decadence of Greek letters, the prevailing custom thus introduced, so that we may be quite prepared to find the ignorant Indo-Scythians receiving, with but little scruple, the deities old or new which were in favour with the strangely mixed races, who had found resting-places on or near these main highways of Central Asia.

The following is a tabular outline of some of the more prominent objects of worship figured on the coins of the period :—

Vedic Gods.	Persian Gods.	Brahmanical Gods.	Buddha.
1. VAYU, ΟΑΔΟ. <i>Bdd</i> "wind," (Ari- ana Antiqua, Pl. xii. 19, &c.)	1. FIRE, ΑΘΡΟ (two varieties, AA. xii. 6, 7, 16, and xiv. 7)	1. UGRA (<i>Siva</i>) OKPO	<i>BUDDHA.</i>
2. A G N I, (ΟΡΑ) ΑΓΝΟ (<i>Fire</i>)	2. Ditto (three forms) ΦΑΡΟ	2. PARVATI (<i>the wife of Siva</i>) ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ	Seated figure (J.A.S. Bengal, 1845, Pl. ii. fig. 6).
3. SURYA, <i>the Sun</i> , rayed female figure, ΗΑΙΟΣ (A. A. xi. 15, 16)	3. Nanaia (Tanais) NANAIA	3. Kumāra KOMAPO	OM ΑΔΟ ΒΟΔ CAMANA. Om! Adi Buddha Sramana. Standing figure (AA. xiii. 1, 2, 3).
4. MITRA (<i>mihira</i>), female figure ΜΙΙΡΟ (A. A. xii. 15, xiv. 2)	4. Mithra, male figure, ΜΙΘΡΟ (AA. xiii. 6, 9)	4. Skanda CKANΔΟ	
	5. Mao (The Moon, female) ΜΑΟ	5. Visākha ΒΙΖΑΓΟ (AA. xiv. 11)	
	6. Deus Lunus (male) ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΓΟ (<i>Maonh Baga</i> , "Moon God")		

Most of these identifications have been sanctioned by O. Müller, Prinsep, Lassen, and Wilson. Those which are new I will reserve for future comment.

E. THOMAS.

IX.

AN ACCOUNT OF A HOARD OF COINS FOUND AT EPHESUS.

At the beginning of last year, as Mr. J. T. Wood was carrying on his excavations at Ephesus, in search of the site of the Temple of Diana, he came upon an earthenware pot, at a distance of about four feet below the surface, containing 2,231 silver coins and 15 lumps of silver, weighing in all 17 lbs. 4 oz. 368 grs. Mr. Wood thinks that the spot where the hoard was found is a portion of the cemetery of the church of St. John.

This hoard comprises specimens of the coinage of many of the nations of Europe, which were, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mixed up with the affairs of the East. It consists of coins of Naples, Rhodes, the Seljuk Emeers, Venice, Genoa, and the Papal States. The whole hoard embraces a period of about eighty years, so that the coins of which it consists must all have been current at one time. The earliest date which can be assigned to any of the coins is 1285 ; these were struck by Charles II. of Naples ; the latest may be placed not after 1365, these being struck by Roger de Pins, Grand Master of Rhodes. From this it may be concluded that the hoard must have been buried not later than the year 1370, if not even earlier.

The existence of such a variety of coins of different countries can be easily accounted for. Asia Minor was, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the scene of the struggle of nearly every European power, but more especially of those nations which have just been mentioned. On account of the purity of the metal of the coins of Naples, they were current not only all over southern Europe, but also in Asia Minor. The Knights of Rhodes were at that period in continual warfare against the infidels, and more especially against the Ottoman empire, which was fast extending itself over the whole of Asia Minor, and which had already made frequent attacks upon the islands in the Archipelago and on the Byzantine empire. The Venetians not only carried on a large trade with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, but had held for some time several islands of the Archipelago, of which the most important were Chios, Lemnos, Skyros, and Lesbos. The Genoese succeeded the Venetians in the possession of the island of Chios, and, with them, were engaged in frequent attacks upon the Greeks, and also on the Seljuks. The coins of the Papal States could easily have found their way into Asia Minor with the vessels of the Italians which joined the Genoese and Venetians. As Ephesus and Magnesia were situate in the empire of the Seljuks, no explanation is necessary for the discovery of coins of that people in the locality where the hoard was found.

For what use these lumps of silver were intended it is impossible to say; but from their shape it is quite evident that they had been melted down in crucibles, and were possibly for the purpose of coining money.

The coins of Naples in this hoard are called *gigliati*. This name signifies "liliated" and is derived from the floreated cross and fleurs-de-lis in the four quarters on the

reverse of the coins. Those of Rhodes received the name of *aspri*, a term which will be afterwards explained.

A list of the coins is first given, with their number and the particular countries and rulers to which they belong, after which each class is treated of in detail.

NAPLES (1462 coins)—7 of Charles II., 1442 of Robert I., and 13 of Louis and Johanna.

RHODES (745 coins)—148 of Elion de Villeneuve, 96 of Deodato de Gozon, 110 of Pietro Cornillano, and 391 of Roger de Pins.

SELJUKS (14 coins)—13 Theologi of Ephesus, and 1 of Magnesia.

GENOA (1 coin)—A coin struck in the island of Chios during the time of the Maona of the Justiniani.

PAPAL STATES (1 coin)—A giulio of John XXII.

VENICE (1 coin)—A matapan of Francis Dandolo.

Seven various blundered and unascertained coins.

NAPLES.

CHARLES II.

1285—1309.

Charles II., surnamed the Boiteux, was the son of Charles I. of Anjou, King of Naples, and grandson of Louis VIII. of France and Blanche of Castille. He was born in the year 1248. In 1284, when his father was engaged in a war against Sicily, he was left in charge of the kingdom. During this absence of Charles I., Roger de Loria attacked Naples and took the young regent prisoner, and conveyed him to Mattagrifone, Here the captive remained till after the death of his father, which happened in the following year, when, by the intervention of Edward I. of England and the Pope Nicolas IV., he was released, and, after being crowned at Rome, returned to Naples. Immediately after his return,

Charles invaded Sicily, which had been taken from his father, and endeavoured to drive the Sicilians from Calabria; but in neither attempt did he succeed.

Charles married Maria, the only daughter of Ladislas, King of Hungary. When Ladislas died, the Hungarians asked for Charles Martel, the eldest son of Charles and Maria, as their king. Owing to the claims of the Duke of André, some time, however, elapsed before Charles was crowned. In 1302 Charles II. gave his daughter, Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic, King of Sicily, who had successfully resisted the attempts of James of Aragon and Charles of Valois to drive him from his throne. Charles had nine sons and five daughters, the latter being married to nearly all the principal sovereigns of Europe. His eldest son, Charles Martel, King of Hungary, died in 1295, and was succeeded by his grandson Charobert. His second son, Louis, having gone into holy orders, Charles, upon his death, which took place in 1309, was succeeded by his third son, Robert.

A list is appended of the coins of this monarch which were in the hoard. There are only three varieties, and these of very little importance, the difference being in the spelling of the second word of the legend on the obverse, and in the word ET on the obverse of No. 3.

On the obverse of these coins is a seated figure of the king crowned, and having long hair; in his right hand is a sceptre, and in his left hand an orb; on his breast a quatrefoil, and on each side of his chair a lion, with the legend, "*Carolus Secundus Dei Gratia Hierosolymæ et Siciliæ Rex.*"

On the reverse is a cross floreated, as on the money of France in the time of Louis VIII., with a fleur-de-lis in each quarter. The legend, which is "*Honor Regis Judi-*

cium Diligit," is taken from the 98th Psalm. The coins of this king very closely resemble those struck by his father, Charles of Anjou, when senator of Rome.

- ¹ 1. *Obv.*—✠ K[AR]OL' . SCD' . DEI . GRA . IERL' ET
SICIL' REX. King seated front, crowned, holding sceptre in right hand and orb in left; quatrefoil on breast; on either side of seat a lion.

Rev.—✠ hONOR . REGIS . IUDICIU . DILIGIT.
Floreated cross, with fleur-de-lis in each quarter.
Æ 95. Pl. IV. No. 1.

2. *Obv.*—✠ K[AR]OL' . S[CD]' . DEI . GRA . IERL' . ET .
SICIL' REX. Type same.

Rev.—✠ hONOR . REGIS . IUDICIU . DILIGIT. Type
same. Æ 1.

3. *Obv.*—✠ K[AR]OL' SC . DEI . GRA . IERL' . & . SICIL.
REX. Type same.

Rev.—✠ hONOR . REGIS . IUDICIU . DILIGIT. Type
same. Æ 1.

ROBERT I.

1309—1343.

Robert's accession to the crown of Naples was ratified by the Pope, from whom he received marked favours by being released from the heavy debts due to the Holy See from his father, and by being appointed Vicar of Ferrara and Romagna. Nearly all the towns of Tuscany placed themselves immediately under the protection of Robert, in order that they might the better resist the attacks of Henry VII., Emperor of Germany. This alliance was the cause of a long struggle between Henry and Robert, which lasted many years, but during the whole of which period the troops of both kings were never engaged in the open field. Robert, knowing how useless it would be for him to attack such a powerful enemy in open battle, sought to weaken Henry's power by arousing the animosity of other

¹ Letters between brackets are joined upon the coins.

princes against him, and this he accomplished with so much ingenuity that Henry on no occasion was able to invade the territories of Naples. Henry died in 1313, and Robert, being released from all fears of an invasion, turned his attention to the conquest of Sicily, which he could not do so long as the Emperor of Germany remained in Italy. This expedition proved unsuccessful; for Robert, landing at Castellamare, began by besieging Trefani, where he lost half his army and the greater portion of his fleet. He was in consequence compelled to make a dishonourable treaty with Frederic, King of Sicily, and return to Naples.

The rivalry which existed at that time between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria supplied Robert with the means of increasing his power. In 1318 he took Genoa, and in the following year was attacked in that place by the Lombards, at the head of whom were the Viscount de Scala and Boracassi. After a short struggle Robert compelled them to raise the siege; but, instead of following up his success himself, he retired to Avignon, committing the command of his troops to Raimond de Cordova, who was shortly afterwards defeated and taken prisoner. Robert then returned to Naples, and in 1324 sent an expedition against Sicily, under the command of his son Charles, Duke of Calabria. This prince landed at Palermo, and laid waste the whole of that district, but he could effect nothing more. In 1325, Florence having surrendered to Robert, he sent his son, the Duke of Calabria, to stop the invasion of Louis of Bavaria, who, having freed himself from his old rival, was preparing to invade Italy. The Duke of Calabria, fearing to attack Louis, retired into Tuscany, where he died in 1328.

His only son being now dead, and not wishing that the

crown of Naples should go from his family, Robert gave his grand-daughter Johanna in marriage to André, the son of the King of Hungary. This marriage, in itself so politic, was the cause of all the troubles of Johanna. For, although very young, Johanna hated her husband, whose disposition was entirely the opposite of hers. Robert, seeing discord increasing daily between them, was taking measures to protect his grand-daughter, whom he had appointed his successor, when he died, having reigned thirty-four years. His death took place in 1343. Robert was considered the wisest monarch of his age, being celebrated for his learning, his strong sense of justice, and the ability which he had shown in keeping his kingdom free from invasion.

Some of the coins of Robert resemble in type those of his father. There are, however, several varieties, viz., on one coin is a fleur-de-lis to left of seated figure of king, on another an acorn downwards. In the inscription of one of these coins, instead of the Latin word *Rex*, we find the French word *Roi*, and on another *G. M. R.* letters which occur on the coins of the Grand Master of Rhodes. There are also many blundered coins, of which a few specimens are given in the subjoined list.

Another type of this monarch has the obverse the same; but on the reverse is the usual floreated cross in the field, with the following legend around the edge, "*Comes Provinciæ et Forcalquerii*," referring to the possessions of Robert in France.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DEI . GRA . IERL' . ET . SICIL' . REX. King crowned, seated front, holding sceptre in right hand and orb in left; quatrefoil on breast; on each side of seat a lion.

Rev.—✠ HONOR . REGIS . IUDICIU . DILIGIT. Floreated cross, with fleur-de-lis in each quarter.
R 105.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DEI . GRA . IERL' . ET . SICILIA .
RAX. Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR . REGIS . IUDICIUM . DILIGIT. Type
same. R 1.
3. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERTUS . DEI . GRA . IERL' . ET . SICIL .
RAX. Type same, but to left of seated figure a
fleur-de-lis.
Rev.—✠ HONOR . REGIS . IUDICIUM . DILIGIT. Type
same. R 95.
4. Same, but to left of seated figure an acorn turned downwards.
R 95.
5. *Obv.*—✠ ROBER GRAI I[ER]L ET CICI RX. Type
same as No. 1.
Rev.—✠ HONORAGIS IUDICIUM DILA. Type same.
R 105.
6. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT DEI GR[ER] ERL ET SIC ROI ×
Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR RA . GS IUDICIUM D . L' . GITT IA.
Type same. R 1.
7. *Obv.*—✠ . ROB[ER]T DEI GR I[ER] ET SHC . . I ×.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR CICS IUDICIUM DITIA. Type same.
R 105.
8. *Obv.*—ROBERTUS . DEI . GRA . IERL' ET SCIL . RAX.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR . REGIS . IUDICIUM . DILIGIT. Type
same. R 105.
9. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT : DEI : GRAI : GN : R : ×. Type
same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR REGIS IUDICIUM DIFG. Type same.
R 11.
10. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT' . DEI . GRA' . IERL' ET SICIL' .
RAX. Type same.
Rev.—✠ : HONOR : REGIS : IUDICIUM . DILIGIT. Type
same. R 105.
11. *Obv.*—✠ : ROB[ER]T : DEI : GRA : ET . CICI : RAX :
Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR REGIS IUDICIUM DGIT. Type same.
R 105.

12. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT DEI GRA IER TARE X. Type same.
Rev.—✠ HONOR REGIS . IU . DICIU DIII. Type same
 Æ 1·05.
13. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DEI GRA IHR : ET : SICIL . REX.
 Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES : PVINCIAE . ET . FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1·05. Pl. IV. No. 2.
14. *Obv.*—✠ ROBAT : DEI GRA IHR : ET . SICIL : REX.
 Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES : PVINCIAE : ET FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1.
15. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DEI . GRA . IHR . & . SICIL . REX.
 Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES P . VINCE . ET . FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1·05.
16. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DEI : GRA : IHR : ET SICIL : REX.
 Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES . PVINCIA : ET FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1·05.
17. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT' . DEI . GRA : IHR : ET : SICIL :
 REX. Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES : PVINCIAE : ET : FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1.
18. *Obv.*—✠ ROBERT . DI . GRA . IERL . ET SICIL REX.
 Type same.
Rev.—✠ COMES . PVINCIA ET . FORC[AL]QERI.
 Type same. Æ 1·05.

JOHANNA AND LOUIS.

1352—1362.

Johanna, soon after her accession, joined in a conspiracy for the murder of her hated husband, André, who was accordingly assassinated at the Convent of Avenna, in 1345. She then married Louis of Tarentum, her former

paramour, and one of her husband's assassins. Louis, King of Hungary, and brother of André, determined to revenge his brother's death, and for that purpose raised an army, and in 1347 invaded the kingdom of Naples. At the approach of the Hungarians the army of Louis of Tarentum was broken up, and Johanna, being thus deserted by her own supporters, quitted Naples for Provence, where she was soon followed by her husband. Even here she could not find an asylum, for the barons revolting, seized her and placed her in confinement, from which she was released by the interference of the Pope Clement VI., to whom she had abandoned for that purpose the sovereignty of Avignon. In the meanwhile, Louis of Hungary had accomplished the conquest of Naples, and had treated the inhabitants with great cruelty, by this means revenging to the utmost the death of his brother. Italy at that time being visited by a severe plague, Louis returned to Hungary, leaving nearly the whole of his army behind him. Johanna, at the request of her old subjects, now came back to Naples, and Louis, her husband, attempted to drive out the Germans and Hungarians, who still ravaged the whole kingdom. This soon caused Louis of Hungary to return at the head of more troops; but having wasted too much time in the siege of Aversa, and wishing to put an end to the war, he granted a truce to Johanna, upon the condition that she allowed herself to be tried for the murder of her husband. To this she consented, and was pronounced not guilty by her judges. Johanna, after her return to Naples, gave herself up to all kinds of pleasure, which caused much strife between her and her husband.

Louis died in 1362, and Johanna then married James of Aragon, who claimed the crown of Majorca. During

the whole of the time of their union James was engaged in attempts to recover Majorca; but he died in 1375 without accomplishing his object. Johanna then married Otho of Brunswick, who died two years afterwards. Having no children living by any one of her four husbands, Johanna appointed as her successor, Charles of Duras, who had married her niece, Marguerite of Duras. In spite of this mark of favour, Charles hated Johanna; and, after first obtaining the consent of Pope Urban VI., whom the queen had made her enemy, by taking the part of Clement VII. against him, and being crowned King of Naples, he invaded that kingdom. Johanna, having reckoned on the assistance of Louis, Count of Aragon, whom she had appointed her successor, when she heard of the designs of Charles of Duras, was defeated and taken prisoner. Soon afterwards Louis of Aragon arrived with a fleet, and Charles, wishing to come to terms with him, requested a conference with his generals, at which he commanded Johanna to be present, in order that she might dissuade Louis from any further attempt. Johanna came, but, contrary to the wishes of Charles, did all in her power to persuade the generals to acknowledge only Louis of Anjou as her successor. Enraged at this, Charles caused her to be put to death shortly afterwards, and it is related that she died by suffocation. This occurred in 1381.

Although Johanna struck coins of different types during her long reign, there exists but one type in the hoard, and as these coins have her name, as well as that of her husband, Louis of Tarentum, they must have been struck between 1352 and 1362. They are of the same type as those which I have already described of Robert, having the same seated figure on the obverse, and the legend

“Dei Gratia Hierosolymæ et Siciliæ Rex;” but, on the reverse the floreated cross and fleurs-de-lis, with the legend “Comes et Comitessa Provinciæ et Forcalquerii.”

1. *Obv.*—✠ LODOU' . & . IOh[AN] . DEI : G . IhR' & .
SICL' REX. King seated front, holding sceptre
in right hand and orb in left; quatrefoil on breast;
on each side of seat a lion.

Rev.—✠ O[ME]S & O[SM]ITSA . PVICE .
FORCh[AL]QE. Floreated cross, with fleurs-de-lis
in each quarter. *R* 1.05. *Pl.* IV. No. 3.

2. *Obv.*—✠ LODOV . & IOh[AN] . DEI . G . IhR . &
SIC . REX. Type same.

Rev.— . . . TSA . PVICE . & FORChAL
Type same. *R* 1.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem owes its origin to the Crusades, which had drawn to the East many Europeans, who were filled with the chivalrous spirit of freeing the Holy Sepulchre from the ravages of the Turks, and who desired to protect the numerous pilgrims visiting it during the course of every year. The efforts of these knights were crowned with success, and reports of their valour spread far and wide. In order that this body, which was always exposed to so many dangers, should have a place where they could shelter themselves as well as pilgrims, a hospice was built for them at Jerusalem. As this body increased rapidly in number, large estates were granted them, and hospices were built at Tarentum, Messina, Asti, Pisa, Otranto, and several other places. It was not, however, till the year 1310 that Rhodes became the principal head-quarters of the Order. In that year the Grand Master Foulques de Villaret, made a sudden attack upon the island of Rhodes, which was then in the hands of the Saracens and Turks, with a fleet of twenty-five ships; and, after a severe struggle, captured it. Foulques

de Villaret then built a convent for the Order and fortified the whole island. He afterwards conquered the neighbouring islands, by this means securing Rhodes from the constant inroads of the Turkish empire.

ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

Elion de Villeneuve was descended from the family of Romeo de Villeneuve, Grand Marechal of Provence, and was born in the year 1270. Having joined the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at an early age, he soon became noted for his brave attacks on the infidels, and in consequence was raised to the dignity of Grand Prieur de St. Gilles. When Foulques de Villaret abdicated the grand mastership, and when the island of Rhodes had been rescued by Gerard de Pins from Orkhan, who attempted to drive out the knights, Elion de Villeneuve, at a meeting of the Order held at Avignon, in 1319, was elected Grand Master, and this election was confirmed by the Pope, John XXII. The Order of St. John having incurred enormous debts by continued warfare against the infidels, Elion, instead of returning at once to Rhodes after his election, first visited the Pope and various Christian princes of Europe, to demand assistance of them. He was engaged in this mission, and also in various continental wars, till 1336, when he came to Rhodes. At that time the island was much disturbed by internal feuds, to which Elion speedily put an end. In the year 1343 he gained the famous victory of Rio del Salado over Alboaces, King of Morocco, whose army more than doubled that of the Grand Master, and, in the following year, the knights under the command of John of Biandra, besieged and took the city of Smyrna, which they held for a long time, in spite of the efforts of the Turks to dislodge them. In

memory of the event, Elion built a crenelated bastion, which up to the present day is known by the name of the "Chateau de Villeneuve." Elion died two years afterwards, in 1346, at the age of eighty-three years, leaving behind him a memory to be respected by the Order to which he had rendered so many services.

From a MS. of Francis Balducci Pegolotti, it has been ascertained that this Grand Master had a regular monetary system as early as the year 1334. The coins of Elion de Villeneuve in the hoard were called "aspri," from the Greek word *ἄσπρος*, "white," referring to the whiteness of the silver of which they were made.² The name of "gigliati," afterwards given to them, has been explained.

On the obverse of these coins, is the figure of the Grand Master kneeling before a patriarchal cross. On some of the coins the figure is given in outline, the head facing and the hands extended in the attitude of prayer; this figure is of rude workmanship. In others, the figure is dressed in the robes of a monk with a cowl, the face being turned towards the cross, and the hands being in the same position as on the other coins. On the shoulder of the Grand Master, in both types, there is a cross. The patriarchal cross in front of the figure was first struck on the coins when the Order was at Jerusalem. The legend is usually FR ELION D'VILLANOVA DI GRA. MB.; but on some coins Villanova is divided, as VILA:NOVA, while on others it is inscribed VIL[AN]OVA. In the latter case the [AN] is a composition of the Gothic A and the Latin N.

On the reverse is a floreated cross, which is sometimes slightly varied, bearing at the extremities four shields of

² *Monete inedite dei Gran Maestri dell' Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme in Rodi.* P. Lambros, Venezia, 1865.

the Order, and around it the inscription. OSPIT[AL']. S. IOHIS. IRLNI. OT. RODI. Great doubt existed some years ago as to the meaning of the two letters OT; and on account of the bad state of preservation of the coins, they were supposed to be short for DVX; but others thought they stood for QVI, thus making the legend in the first instance "Ospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymæ Dux Rodi," and in the second instance "Ospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymæ Qui (Est) Rodi." Friedländer, however, having a coin of Deodato de Gozon, on which he found the word written OVENT, put another interpretation upon it, which appears to be undoubtedly the right one, viz., that the O was short for CON, and that the whole word was "CONVENTUS."

In the hoard there are two coins of this Grand Master of smaller size than those which I have described. One of these coins is mentioned in No. 6 in the following list. The legends are different to those on the other coins, the last two letters on the obverse, Ch, standing for "Custos Hospitalis."

1. *Obv.*—✠ : FR. ELION. D'. VIL[AN]OVA. D'I : GRA. MR. Grand Master kneeling to left before a patriarchal cross; figure in outline, and head facing; hands extended in the attitude of prayer; on left shoulder a cross.

Rev.—✠. OSPIT[AL']. S'. IOHIS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI. Floreated cross, bearing at the extremities four shields of the Order. *R* 1.

2. *Obv.*—✠ FR. ELION'. D'. VIL[AN]OVA. D'I. GRA MR. Type same.

Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S'. IOHIS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI. Type same. *R* 1.15. Pl. IV. No. 4.

3. *Obv.*—✠ FR. ELION. D. VILANOVA. DI GRA : MR. Type same.

Rev.—✠ : OSPITAL' : S : IOHIS : IRLNI : OT : RODI : Type same. *R* 1.1.

4. *Obv.*—✠ FR ELION . D : UILA : NOUA . DI GRA
MR. Type same, but figure dressed in robes of a
monk with cowl, and looking towards the cross.

Rev.—† OSPITAL' . S' . IOHIS : IRLNI . OT . RODI.
Type same. Æ 1.

5. Same, but reverse OT RODI: Æ 1.

6. *Obv.*—✠ . FR . ELIONVS . DEI . GRA . CI . η . Type
same as No. 1.

Rev.—✠ . MAR . OSPITALIS . IRLNI . Type same.
Æ 8.5.

Other coins of this Grand Master have the same inscriptions, but the crosses on the obverse and reverse are as follows :—:✠· — :✠· — ✠·

DEODATO DE GOZON.

1346—1353.

Elion de Villeneuve was succeeded in the grand mastership by Deodato de Gozon, who was descended from an ancient family of Provence. Deodato, when a knight, had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner by killing a monster, of which the following is the legendary account, familiar to many from Schiller's "Kampf mit den Drachen."

An immense monster, in the shape of a dragon or a serpent, living in a cave at a few miles from the city of Rhodes, destroyed all the cattle in the neighbourhood and poisoned the air by its venomous breath. Many of the knights had attempted to kill the monster, but none succeeded, and, so many lost their lives in the attempt, that the Grand Master forbade any one, under penalty of being deprived of his Order, to attack it again. Deodato was, however, determined to try and kill it, and he carried out

his resolution in the following manner. Having lingered for some days in the neighbourhood of the cave, he closely inspected the animal, and discovered where its vulnerable parts lay. He then obtained leave to visit France, where his territories were situated, and whilst there he made a figure resembling the dragon, and trained two dogs to attack it, and to bite at its stomach, as this was the only vulnerable place on the monster, the rest of its body being covered with impenetrable scales. Deodato at the same time, standing at a distance, pierced it with his lance. Having by this means perfected his aim and the training of the dogs, he returned to Rhodes, and, immediately on his arrival, proceeded to attack the dragon, and slew it after the manner he had planned. He would, however, have lost his life in the attempt, had it not been for his attendants, who were at hand ; for the dragon, in falling, dragged down Deodato, and, rolling on him, was crushing him to death when his attendants dragged him out. Deodato then went back to the city, where he was well received by the populace ; but the Grand Master, feeling himself bound to carry out his threat, deprived him of his Order, and placed him in prison for disobeying his commands. Deodato was shortly afterwards restored to his dignity as a knight of the Order, and at the same time raised to the rank of a General. When Elion de Villeneuve died, in 1346, the knights being assembled to elect his successor, Deodato de Gozon, having sworn that he would only name him whom he thought most worthy to fill the office of Grand Master, proposed himself. This act of self-estimation at first took the whole assembly by surprise ; but, in consideration of the services Deodato had rendered the island, he was elected to the vacant office. He soon afterwards gained a great naval victory at Imbros over a

Mahomedan fleet. This was one of the greatest successes of the continuous struggle of the Order against the Saracens. He also freed the Christian King of Armenia from the attacks of his neighbours and restored him to his throne. The Order during this grand mastership contested the dominion of the Black Sea against the Genoese and Venetians. About the same time the Order suffered much from the continual infringement of the rules by its knights, who appropriated the revenues of the order to themselves, buying with them lands, and enriching their families, instead of giving them over to the Grand Master. Deodato tried hard to abolish this evil; but not succeeding, he determined to resign his office, and for that purpose asked leave of the Pope to do so. The latter refused his consent for a long time, but at last he gave way; before, however, the message arrived at Rhodes, Deodato died.

The coins of this Grand Master in the hoard are the same as the second mentioned type of Elion de Villeneuve, the kneeling figure being always dressed in the garb of a monk.

1. *Obv.*—✠ FR DEODAT D . GOSONO . DI . GRA . MGR.
Grand Master kneeling to left before patriarchal cross, dressed in robes of a monk with cowl; hands extended in the attitude of prayer; on left shoulder a cross.

Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL'] . S' . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT . RODI.
Floreated cross, bearing at the extremities four shields of the Order. *AR* 1.

2. *Obv.*—✠ FR : DEODAT : D : GOSONO : DI : GRA : MR.
Type same.

Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL] : S : IOHIS : IRLNI : OT : RODI.
Type same. *AR* 1·05.

3. *Obv.*—✠ FR . DEODAT . D . GOSONO . DI . GRA . MR.
Type same.

Rev.—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT' . RODI.
Type same. *AR* 1·05. Pl. IV. No. 5.

4. *Obv.*—✠ FR. DEODAT' . D' . GOSONO . DI . GRA . M.
Type same.

Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL'] . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT' . RODI.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.05.

Other coins of this Grand Master have the same inscriptions as given above, but the crosses on the obverse and reverse are as follows:—:✠:— ✠:—✠.—✠.

PIETRO CORNILLANO.

1354—1355.

Little is known of Pietro Cornillano, who was the successor of Deodato de Gozon. He was, like Deodato, descended from an ancient family of Provence, and, like Elion de Villeneuve, held the office before his election to the Grand Mastership of Grand Prieur de St. Gilles. He was elected Grand Master in 1354. The chief efforts of Pietro during his short rule, which only lasted about a year and a half, were directed against the attempts of Innocent VI., who wished the Order of St. John to quit Rhodes, and establish themselves in Palestine, in order that they might more easily check the inroads of the Turks upon Europe. To consider this matter, Pietro summoned a large meeting of the Order; but before it had time to assemble he expired, his death taking place about the middle of the year 1355.

It will be seen by the coins of Pietro, a list of which is given below, that they are of the same type as those of his predecessor, Deodato de Gozon.

On the obverse the family name of this Grand Master is sometimes spelt Cornilliani and sometimes Cornilliano, and on the reverse the word *Johannis* has three forms, viz., IOH̄S, IOH̄AS and IOH̄IS. This difference of spelling does not occur on any other of the coins of the Grand Masters which are to be found in the hoard.

1. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. CORNILLIANI. DI. GRA. M.
Grand Master kneeling before a patriarchal cross, dressed in the robes of a monk with cowl; hands extended in the attitude of prayer; on left shoulder a cross.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL'S. IOH̄AS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Floreated cross, bearing at the extremities four shields of the Order. *Æ* 1.
2. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. CORNILLIANI. DI. GRA. M.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S. IOH̄IS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Type same. *Æ* 1·05. Pl. IV. No. 6.
3. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. D'. CORNILLIANO. DI. GRA. M.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S. IOH̄IS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Type same. *Æ* 1.
4. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. CORNILLIANO. DI. GRA. M.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S. IOH̄IS. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Type same. *Æ* 1.
5. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. CORNILLIANO. DI. GRA. M.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S. IOH̄S. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Type same. *Æ* 1.
6. *Obv.*—✠ F. PETRUS. D. CORNILLIANO. DI. GRA. M.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL']. S. IOH̄S. IRLNI. OT'. RODI.
Type same. *Æ* ·5.

ROGER DE PINS.

1355—1365.

Roger de Pins, the twenty-eighth Grand Master, was a descendant of the Grand Master, Odo de Pins and Gerard de Pins, who had been nominated Vicar-General of St. John upon the death of Foulques de Villaret, and who had rescued the island from the attacks of Orkhan. Upon the accession of Roger de Pins, Innocent VI. still per-

sisted in his attempts to compel the knights to quit Rhodes. Roger was much opposed to this arrangement; but after some time promised to remove to the Morea, upon first consulting the chief princes of Europe as to the advisability of this step. The Pope dying shortly afterwards, the matter was dropped. Roger now applied himself to the administration of the affairs of the island, and to correcting various abuses which had crept into the Order. He caused the rules of the Order to be revised, and translated its statutes into nearly all the different European languages, for the purpose of putting an end to the excuses which were always being given by the knights when a breach of them occurred, viz., that they could not observe them as long as they were written in a language which they could neither read nor understand. Roger died in 1365, and his loss as a good and wise chief was much regretted by the Order.

The coins of this Grand Master are of the same type as those of his predecessors, with the exception of some of them, which have on the obverse a large pine-cone to the right of the kneeling figure of the Grand Master. On No. 12 and 13 of the coins of this grand master, mentioned below, the list of which is rather long, as there are so many varieties, it will be seen that after the legend on the obverse of those two coins there is a small pine-cone. This mark was common, a hundred years later, on the coins of Henry VI. of England.

1. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBUS . DI . GRA . M.
Grand Master kneeling to left before a patriarchal cross, clothed in the robes of a monk with a cowl, his hands extended in the attitude of prayer; on shoulder a cross.

Rev.—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT' . RODI.
Floreated cross; at the extremities four shields of the Order. *R* 1. *Pl.* IV. No. 7.

2. *Obv.*—✠ FR . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBUS . DI . GR : Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL'] . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT' . RODI.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.
3. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBUS . DI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPIT[AL] : S : IOHIS : IRLNI : ΘT : ROD.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.
4. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINVB . DEI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT' . RODI.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1·05.
5. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINVB . DEI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITA : S : IOHIS : IRLNI : ΘT : ROD. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1·05.
6. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINVB . DEI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT . ROD. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1.
7. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINIBVS . DI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT . ROD. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1·05.
8. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINIBVS . DI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL . S . IOHIS . IRLI . ΘT . RODI : . Type
same.
9. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIRUS . DI . GRA . Ω.
Type same, but pine-cone behind kneeling figure.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITALI . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT . RODI. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1·05.
10. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBUS . DI . GRA . Ω.
Type same.
- Rev.*—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . ΘT . RODI.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.

11. *Obv.*—✠ F : ROGIERIUS : D : PINIBVS : D : GRA : M.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL] . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT . RODI.
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.
12. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBVS . D . GRA .
M. A small pine cone. Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT . RODI .
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.
13. *Obv.*—Same as No. 12, but legend in obverse D : GRA : M.
(Pine cone.) \mathcal{R} 1.05.
14. *Obv.*—✠ . F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINIBVS . DI . GRA .
M. Type same.
Rev.—OSPITAL' . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT . RODI. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1.
15. *Obv.*—✠ F o ROGIERIVS o D o PINIBVS o D o GRA o M.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL'] o S o IOHIS o IRLNI o OT o RODI
o Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.05
16. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIUS . D . PINIBVS . D : GRA : M.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL'] o S o IOHIS o IRLNI o OT o RODI
o. Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.
17. *Obv.*—✠ . F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINVB . DEI . GA . M.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPITAL . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . S OT RODI. Type
same. \mathcal{R} 1.05.
18. *Obv.*—✠ F . ROGIERIVS . D . PINVS . D . GRA . M.
Type same.
Rev.—✠ OSPIT[AL] . S . IOHIS . IRLNI . OT . RODI*::
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.

Other coins of this Grand Master have the same inscriptions as given above, but the crosses on the obverse and reverse are as follows :—:✠:—✠:—✠'—✠.

THE SELJUKS.

The Seljuks were descended from the Hœi-he or Hœi-hu, a collection of tribes of the Turkish race, who, being driven from the Chinese wall in 744, overwhelmed the Turkish Empire of Kiptchak. At the time of the separation of the Seljuks from the Hœi-hu, the latter had extended their power from the Caspian Sea as far as the Hoang-ho. Seljuk, from whom the Seljuks derived their name, was the chief of a small tribe, which had gained possession of Bokhara and the surrounding country. His descendants, in 1027, conquered Khorassan, and settled in that country under the rule of Togrul Bey, a grandson of Seljuk. Togrul subdued Balkh and Khaurezm in 1041, and this conquest was followed by those of Irak-Ajemi, Kerman, and Fars. In 1055 he captured Bagdad, and, six years afterwards, completed the conquest of Persia, adding to his empire Irak-Arabi and Mosul. Togrul, dying in 1063, was succeeded by his nephew, Alp-Arslan, who reigned ten years, and was himself succeeded by his son, Melek Shah. By the assistance of his able and virtuous minister, Nizam ul Mulk, Melek Shah extended his empire still farther, adding to it Arabia, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Transoxiana, so that it reached from the Hellespont to the borders of Chinese Tartary. This powerful prince, dying in 1073, laid the foundation for the sure destruction of his empire, by subdividing it into a number of small principalities, the chief of which were :—

- (1) The Seljuks of Iram.
- (2) The Seljuks of Kerman.
- (3) The Seljuks of Iconium.
- (4) The Seljuks of Aleppo.
- (5) The Seljuks of Mosul.
- (6) The Seljuks of Damascus.
- (7) The Seljuks of Mardein.
- (8) The Seljuks of Khaurezm.

As we have only to deal with the Seljuks of Iconium, my remarks will be confined to that part of the Seljukian Empire.

The principality of the Seljuks of Iconium, or Roum, extended over the whole of Asia Minor, and was founded by Soliman, a great grandson of Seljuk. It lasted for the space of two hundred and twenty-four years, viz., from 1073 to 1297, and was renowned for its numerous wars against the Byzantines and Crusaders, who soon learnt to fear its power. During its last years it was tributary to the Moguls; after which it was divided into several small principalities, and finally, in 1389, became a portion of the Ottoman Empire. The sultans who reigned over Iconium during the two hundred and twenty-four years of its existence are mentioned in the following list, together with the dates of their accession:—

Soliman, 1074.
 Abouliasem, 1085.
 Kilidji Arslan, 1092.
 Saissan, 1107.
 Masoud, 1117.
 Kilidji Arslan II., 1155.
 Gaiatheddin, 1192.
 Soliman II., 1198.

Kilidji Arslan III., 1204.
 Azeddin I., 1210.
 Alaeddin, 1219.
 Gaiatheddin II., 1237.
 Azeddin II., 1245.
 Rokneddin, 1261.
 Gaiatheddin III., 1267.
 Gaiatheddin IV., 1283—1294.

It was during the reign of Gaiatheddin II. that the Moguls entered Iconium, and having subdued it, many of the Emeers took flight and escaped to the mountains. From this time the Moguls disposed of the crown of that state as they desired.

In 1293 Gaiatheddin IV., having conquered all the Emeers who dwelt in the mountains, was attacked by another, named Amerkhan, who had established himself on the Euxine Sea. This powerful Emeer compelled Gaiatheddin to take refuge in Constantinople, from whence he

returned to Iconium in the following year. Having by treachery got Amerkhan, with his sons, into his power, Gaiathedden caused them to be strangled; one son, however, escaped, named Aleë, who, having collected an army, attacked Gaiatheddin, and slew him. With this prince perished the Empire of the Seljuks of Iconium.

The death of Gaiatheddin was the signal for those Emeers who had retired to the mountains at the approach of the Moguls to return to their estates. This they did, and formed, out of the kingdom of Iconium, among themselves, eleven principalities. The most noted of the founders of these states were:—

- (1) Karaman, who took Phrygia.
- (2) Saroukhan, who held Magnesia.
- (3) Othman, who, with his son, settled in Bithynia, and there laid the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.
- (4) Aidin, who founded the kingdom of Burki and seven others.

In nearly every case each principality assumed the name of its founder.

As the coins in the hoard which belong to the Seljuks were struck in the principality of Saroukhan of Magnesia, I will here give what facts I have been able to collect of this Emeer.

About the year 1310 an attack was made by the Turks upon the islands of Rhodes, Samos, Karpatos, Lemnos, and others on the coasts of Europe and Asia. Although this invasion has been attributed by some historians to the Ottomans, little doubt remains but that it was made by the Turksih princes of Aidin, Saroukhan, Karasi, and Mentesche.

In 1327 Orkhan, the son of Othman, who, by the capture of Brousa, Kaprihiasi, Nicæa, and other places, had greatly extended his principality, assisted the Em-

peror Andronicus II. against the attacks of his grandson, Andronicus the Younger. The Ottoman troops were defeated, and, retiring to Constantinople, crossed over again into Asia. Soon afterwards Andronicus the Younger, being at war with the Genoese and Ottomans, sought the aid of Saroukhan and Aidin. These princes, fearing the fast-increasing power of Orkhan, and forgetting for the moment their old feuds with the Greeks, complied with the request of Andronicus ; and in 1336 Saroukhan came in person with twenty-four ships, and Amour, the son of Aidin, with thirty more, and having attacked Phocæa, which was then held by the Genoese family of Catagna, took it. There is no doubt of the success of Saroukhan and Amour in this expedition, for it is said that they returned laden with riches. In 1341 Saroukhan again laid waste the coasts of Greece ; but, being defeated by Cantacuzenus in the Chersonese, his general, Jakschi, only obtained peace on condition that Saroukhan should for the future cease from further hostilities. In 1342 Cantacuzenus, having assumed the government of Greece with John Paleologus, and being unable to hold this position, resorted to civil war, and obtained the assistance of Oumurbeg, the son of Aidin. These two, having plundered for the space of two years the coasts of Thrace, were attacked by the fleets of Venice and Cyprus at Smyrna, and suffered so severe a defeat that they were unable to return by the Archipelago to the shores of Greece. Oumurbeg was in consequence compelled to obtain leave from Saroukhan to pass through his territory, which the latter allowed him to do on condition that he ceded certain possessions, and promised to protect his son Souleiman, who wished to join Cantacuzenus. Oumurbeg, now accompanied by Souleiman, journeyed along the coast of Asia Minor as far as the Hellespont, and from thence crossed over into

Greece. He then attacked Bulgarno Monitzelas, despot of Xanthea, and having driven him from his country, marched to the gates of Apanea, where his progress was arrested by the sudden death, by fever, of Souleiman. Oumurbeg, fearing lest Saroukhan might think that his son had died by poison, in spite of his promise not to quit Cantacuzenus till the conquest of Servia was completed, returned hastily to Saroukhan, that he might explain in person the cause of his son's death. The mother of John Paleologus had in the meanwhile sought the aid of Saroukhan against Cantacuzenus, and would have succeeded, had not Oumurbeg arrived just before Saroukhan had determined what to do. By judiciously spreading discontent in Saroukhan's army against the expedition, Oumurbeg compelled him to abandon all idea of such an alliance.

From this time there is no further record of Saroukhan, neither is there any mention of his death. It is known that his state lasted till 1389, growing weaker and weaker every year, when it was conquered by Bajezid I., who attached it to the Ottoman Empire.

Friedländer, in his article upon the Emeers of Lydia, states that it is well known that the princes of Aidin struck coins for their own state; and there seems little doubt but that Saroukhan, and the other princes who reigned supreme in their principalities, followed their example. One of the chief reforms of Alaeddin, the minister of Orkhan, was the striking of money for the Ottomans with the name of Orkhan upon it, and Von Hammer asserts that up to that period the only money then current in Asia Minor was struck by the Seljuks. Whether this money had been coined by the Sultans of Iconium before the dismemberment of the Empire, or whether it was coined by the Emeers, who divided the

Empire between them, it is impossible to say, as we have no proof that the Emeers, for many years after the foundation of the small principalities, struck coins of the Arabic type for themselves.

The coins in the hoard to which I wish now specially to draw the attention of the Society were undoubtedly struck during the rule of Saroukhan and his principality, as one of them not only bears the name of that ruler, but all of them bear the name of one of his two greatest cities, Magnesia or Ephesus.

The great peculiarity of these coins is that, although struck in Asia Minor, and in a part inhabited by the Seljuks, they are of Latin type, and the legends on them are also in Latin. These peculiarities I will attempt to explain in the following manner.

During the rule of Saroukhan, as the Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor carried on an extensive trade with merchants of nearly every European nation, but more especially with those of Venice and Genoa, they must have required money for the purpose of exchange, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the coinage of the Seljuks, which was then current in Asia Minor, on account of its being of the Arabic type, would be of very little use in the hands of foreign merchants. To avoid such an inconvenience, the Christian subjects of Saroukhan appear to have applied to him for permission to strike such money as would meet their requirements. Having obtained Saroukhan's permission, they chose as a pattern for their new coinage the type of the money which was at that time current in Naples, and which was noted for the purity of its metal. To make the money still more to resemble that of Naples, the Seljuks permitted the legend to be Latin.

The imitation by one nation of the coinage of another was at this period of very common occurrence. Various types of the English coinage were frequently adopted by European nations. The Emperor of Germany, Otho IV., struck some of his coins after the type of the short-cross pennies of Henry II. The type of the long-cross pennies of Henry III. is also to be found on some of the coins of Henry VI., Count of Luxembourg, John of Bohemia, and Louis V. of Bavaria. In France several towns, of which were Cambray and Ligny, used this type for their coinage.

Of these coins of the Seljuks but two kinds have, up to the present time, been brought before our notice, these being struck at the cities of Magnesia and Ephesus.

Of the former, there is but one specimen in the hoard. On the obverse is a seated crowned figure of Saroukhan, holding a sceptre in his right hand and an orb in his left, with the legend around it "*Moneta Manglasie Sarcani*," and on the reverse is a floreated cross, with a fleur-de-lis in each quarter, and with the legend "*De Voluntate Domini Ejusdem Loci*." The type of this coin exactly corresponds with those of Robert of Naples, which I have already described, and the legend on the obverse leaves no doubt as to the identification of the place where the coin was struck, and that on the reverse by whose order it was done.

As three of these coins have already been published by Friedländer and M. de Longpérier, I will give a list of them, and at the end will add a description of the fourth coin, which was found in the hoard at Ephesus, and which, upon being compared with the others, will be found to be slightly different from either of them.

1. *Obv.*—✠ *MONETA . QVÆ . FIT . IN . MANGLASIA .*
DE. Figure of Saroukhan seated front, holding a
sceptre in right hand, and an orb in left; on each
side of chair a lion.

Rev.—✠ VOLVNTATĒ . SARCĀNI . DNI . DICT . LOCI.
Floreated cross, with fleur-de-lis in each quarter. *R.*

2. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA . QVĒ . FIT . MANGLASIĒ . O.
Type same.

Rev.—✠ DĒ . VOLVNTĒ . DNI . EIVSDĒM . OI. Type
same. *R.*

3. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA : QVĒ : FIT : MANGLASIĒ : O : Type
same.

Rev.—✠ DĒ . VOLVNTĒ : DNI . EIVSDĒM : OI : Type
same.

4. *Obv.*—MONETA . M[AN]GLASIĒ . SARCĀNI. Type
same.

Rev.—✠ DĒ . VOLVNTATĒ . DNI EISD' . LOCI. Type
same. *R.* Pl. IV. No. 8.

The coins of the Seljuks which have been struck at Ephesus are of the same type as those of Magnesia, and appear to have been used for the same purpose. On the obverse of these coins is the legend "Moneta Que Fit In Theologos, or Theologo, or Theolog," and on the reverse the legend "De Mandato Domini Ejusdem Loci." My reason for stating that these coins were struck at Ephesus is founded on the word "Theologos" in the legend on the obverse. The Mediæval name of Ephesus was "Ἅγιος Θεολόγος," being derived from the ancient church of St. John, which was situated there. This name was corrupted by the Italians into "Alto Luogo," and by the Turks into "Aia Soluk," by which latter name the small town which is situated near Ephesus of modern times is still called. In this opinion I find I have been borne out by M. de Lambros, of Athens, into whose hands one of these coins fell about two years ago, and who, at that time, considered it to be unique. There exists thirteen coins of this class in the hoard, and, as there is some slight variety in each specimen, I will here give a description of all of them.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HONETΛ . QUE FIT : IN . ThEOLOG. Figure of Saroukhan seated front, holding sceptre in right hand and orb in left; on either side of seat a lion.
Rev.—✠ . DE : MANDATO : DNI : EIUSDE : LOC. Floreate cross, with fleurs-de-lis in each quarter. *R* 1. Pl. IV. No. 9.
2. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA QUE : FIT : IN . ThEOLOGO. Type same, but on breast a ✠.
Rev.—✠ : DE : MANDATO : DNI : EIUSDE : LOCI : Type same. *R* 1·05.
3. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA . QVE . FIT : IN : ThEOLOGO : Type same.
Rev.—✠ : DE . MANDATO : DNI : EIUSDE . LOCI : Type same. *R* 1.
4. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA QUE : AIT : IN : ThEOLOGO : Type same.
Rev.—✠ : DE : MANDATO : DNI : EIUSDE : LOCI : Type same. *R* 1.
5. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA . QUE : FIT : IN : ThEOLOGOS. Type same.
Rev.—✠ : DE : MANDATO : DNI : EIUSDE : LOCI. Type same. *R* 1.
6. *Obv.*—✠ : MONETA QUE . FIT . IN ThEOLOGOS : Type same.
Rev.—✠ DE . MANDATO . DNI EIUSDE . LOC. Type same. *R* 1·05.
7. *Obv.*—✠ MONETA : QUE . FIT : IN : ThEOLOGOS : Type same.
Rev.—✠ : DE : MANDATO : DNI . EIUSDE : LOCI : Type same. *R* 1.
8. *Obv.*—✠ : MONETA : QUE : FIT : IN : ThEOLOGOS : Type same.
Rev.—✠ : DE : MANDATO . DNI . EIUSDEN : LOCI : Type same. *R* 1.
9. *Obv.*—✠ : MONETA : QUE : FIT . IN : ThEOLOGOS. Type same.
Rev.—✠ . DE . MANDATOTO DNI EIUSDE : LOCI .
✠ Type same. *R* 1.

10. *Obv.*—✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ QUÆ FIT . IN : ΤΗΘΟΛΟΓΟΣ : Type same.
Rev.—✠ ΔΕ . ΜΑΥΝΔΥΤΟ : ΔΝΙ : ΕΙΥΣΔΕΝ . ΛΟΟΙ . Type same. *R* 95.
11. *Obv.*—✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ QUÆ FIT . IN : ΤΗΘΟΛΟΓΟΣ : Type same.
Rev.—✠ . ΔΕ . ΜΑΥΝΔΥΤΟ ΔΝΙ ΕΙΥΣΔΕ . ΛΟΟΙ . Type same. *R* 1.
12. *Obv.*—✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ QUÆ : FIT . IN . ΤΗΘΟΛΟ·60·S . Type same.
Rev.—✠ ΔΕ : ΜΑΥΝΔΥΤΟ : ΔΝΙ : ΕΙΥΣΔΕΝ : ΛΟΟΙ . Type same. *R* 1.
13. *Obv.*—✠ . ΜΟΝΕΤΑ : QUÆ : FIT : IN . T Type same.
Rev.—✠ : ΔΕ . ΜΑΥΝΔΥΤΟ : ΔΝΙ ΕΙΥΔΕ ΛΟΟ·Ι· . Type same. *R* 1.

CHIOS.

The island of Chios for many centuries formed a part of the Byzantine Empire; but, in 1172, the Doge of Venice, Vital Michieli II., having sailed up the Archipelago, and failing in an attempt to render himself master of Chalcis, in Eubæa, took possession of this island, where he passed the winter. The Greeks everywhere showed the greatest animosity to the Venetians, who had robbed them of a considerable portion of their trade. In 1173 a dreadful pestilence broke out in the Venetian fleet at Chios, and 150 Byzantine galleys having issued from the Hellespont to attack it, the republican force was so much enfeebled by the ravages of the plague that the Doge abandoned the island on the approach of the enemy, and retired successively to Lesbos, Lemnos and Skyros, and finished by quitting the Archipelago altogether, and returning to Venice with only seventeen ships.

In 1329 several Genoese nobles having acquired consi-

derable possessions in the Byzantine Empire as vassals, but acting more as independent princes, Andronicus III. resolved to re-establish the imperial authority in those places. For that purpose he regained possession of Chios, which had been occupied by the family of Zachario, in the reign of Andronicus II., under the pretext that the island had been granted to them by Michael VIII. This recovery of the island was accomplished by the treachery of Benetto Zachario, the brother of the reigning noble. As Chios then yielded an annual revenue of 120,000 byzants to the public treasure it was a valuable conquest.

In 1346 Chios was again taken from the Greeks, but this time by the Genoese, at the head of whom was the famous Simon Vignoso. Two years later, on account of the friendly disposition shown by the Genoese towards Cantacuzenus, the latter sent ambassadors to the Senate to demand the restoration of the island. The Genoese agreed to restore the island to the Emperor in ten years, and during that period to pay an annual tribute of 22,000 byzants. But this treaty was never carried into execution.

The Genoese domination in the island of Chios was different from the feudal government established in the other conquests of the western Christians in Greece, and the government was held by a commercial trading company of Genoese, called the Maona of the Justiniani, which originated in the following manner.

When Simon Vignoso was preparing the expedition against the island, the treasury of Genoa was so exhausted that the fleet raised for that purpose was paid for by private subscriptions, the republic engaging to secure those citizens who subscribed 400 livres each against all loss by pledging a portion of the annual

revenues of the state to pay the interest on the advances. After the conquest of Chios, Vignoso established a committee of the subscribers, who administered the government of the island, and collected the revenues under the sovereignty of the republic of Genoa. This species of joint stock company received the name of the Maona of Scio. The republic being unable to pay the advances of the subscribers, a convention was concluded between the state and the Maona, by which the latter were recognised as lawful shareholders of the island for a term of twenty years, during which time the government reserved to itself the right of resuming the grant of the island, on paying the capital of 23,000 livres due to the Maona. The government never fulfilled its promise, and the greater part of the shares falling into the hands of the family of the Justiniani, the joint stock company of Scio was generally called the Maona of the Justiniani. The great source of wealth of this company arose from the monopoly which it enjoyed on certain articles of produce of the island; these consisting chiefly of wine, fruit, and silk.

The Genoese joint stock company governed Chios for two hundred and twenty years, when it fell under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, about the year 1566. The island at that time served as a place of refuge for fugitive slaves, and as a place of refreshment for the Christian corsairs. In 1694 Chios again fell for a short time into the hands of the Venetians; but the Turks very soon afterwards regained possession of it.

No gold coins of the Maona of Chios have ever been found, although the Justiniani boasted of possessing the right of coining gold ducats, of which privilege they doubtless availed themselves.

The early type of the silver coins of Chios under the

Maona very closely resembled that of the money then current in Naples and Sicily. To this class belongs the single coin of the island which has been found in the hoard.

On the obverse is a seated figure, holding in right hand a sceptre, and in left an orb; on either side of seat is a lion; the head is covered with a cone-shaped hat, with a ribbon hanging down from either side, and falling on the breast. The legend is

✠ DVX IANVEN . QVÆ . DNS . PTÆGAT.

On the reverse is a floreated cross, with the legend

✠ CONR(AD)VS . REX . ROM[AN]ORVM.

Pl. No. IV. 10.

The legend on the reverse illustrates the fact that in 1138 the Emperor Conrad granted to the Genoese the right of striking their own coinage. He is called Rex Romanorum because at that time he had not received the imperial crown at a solemn coronation.

PAPAL STATES AND VENICE.

As the two coins of these countries in the hoard are so well known, I shall only give a very short description of them, together with the legends on each.

The first coin is a Giulio of the Pope John XXII. On the obverse is the figure of the Pope, seated front, wearing a mitre, the right hand raised in the act of blessing; in the left is a sceptre, and on each side of seat a lion; the legend is

IOHES : PAPA : XXII COMES : VENASINI.

On the reverse is a floreated cross, with the legend—

+ TGM : TIBI . GRT OMNIPOTENS DEVS.

The other coin is a Grosso or Matapan of Francis

Dandolo, Doge of Venice, 1328—1339. On the obverse is the figure of the Doge standing to left, and that of St. Mark to right, with nimbus, both holding a standard, and between them the word DVX, with the legend—

FRA . DANDVLO S. M. VENETI.

On the reverse is a seated figure of Christ, with the letters IQ to left of head, and XQ to right.

H. A. GRUEBER.

NOTE.—Since the above paper was written, Mr. Wood has forwarded from Ephesus a packet of coins, being also a portion of the hoard above described.

This second portion of the hoard consists of 196 coins, nearly all of which are duplicates of the first portion.

The following is a list of them :—

NAPLES (141 coins)—3 of Charles II., 127 of Robert I., and 11 of Louis and Johanna.

RHODES (41 coins)—14 of Elion de Villeneuve, 5 of Deodato de Gozon, 3 of Pietro Cornillano, and 19 of Roger de Pins.

SELJUKS (6 coins)—4 theologi of Ephesus, and 2 of Magnesia.

PAPAL STATES (2 coins)—2 giulii of John XXII.

Six various blundered and unascertained coins.

The only coins of this second lot to be noticed are the two of Magnesia, of which the following is a description :

1. *Obv.*—✠ . MONETA . M[AN]GLASIE . SARUKANI .
Figure of Saroukhan seated front, holding a sceptre in right hand and an orb in left; on breast a quatre-foil, and on each side of chair a lion.

Rev.—✠ DE . VOLVNTATE . DNI . CIVSDAM . Flo-
reated cross, with fleur-de-lis in each quarter. \mathcal{R} 1·05.

2. *Obv.*—✠ . MONETA . QVÆ . FIT . MANGLASIE :
Type same.

Rev.—✠ . DE . VOLVNTATE . DNI . CIVSDAM
Type same. \mathcal{R} 1.

X.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, R.E.

THE vast dominion established by Menander, which extended from Kâbul to Mathura, and from Kashmir to the mouths of the Indus, was not destined to last. The same Sanskrit writer who relates the campaign of the Greeks in the valley of the Ganges, ending with the capture of Palibothra or Patna, tells us that "the fiercely-fighting Greeks will not stay in *Madhyadesa* (the valley of the Ganges): there will be a cruel dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves."¹ In this short passage I think that we have a true account of the actual cause of the downfall of the last Greek kings, and of the closing history of Greek dominion in India.

On the death of Menander in camp, which probably

¹ Dr. Kern, Preface to "Brihat Sanhita," p. 38, quoting the "Gargya Sanhita" of the astronomer Garga, whose date he fixes about 50 B.C. The following is the Sanskrit text:—"Madhyadesa na Sthâsyanti Yavanâ yuddhadurmadâh Teshâ-manyonyasambhâva (?) bhavishyanti na sansâyah."

happened when on his march against Parthia, I suppose that a general scramble took place amongst his relatives and friends to secure some portion of his dominions for themselves. This would be the "cruel and dreadful war between themselves" which is mentioned by the native author. About the same time, or certainly very soon afterwards, the Hindu princes of Menander's territories to the east of the Satlej must have risen against their Greek conquerors and driven them back into the Panjâb. This view of the state of affairs after Menander's death is borne out by the number of ephemeral princes, who, from the style of their coins, must be placed in the short interval that elapsed before the final establishment of peace under the greatly reduced sway of Hermæus. It is strongly supported also by the recent discovery, in company with twenty-seven hemidrachms of Apollodotus Philopator, of some well-executed silver coins of three different native princes, who most probably took part in the expulsion of the Greeks from the territories to the east of the Satlej. I presume that these chiefs most probably adopted the Greek style of coinage to which their subjects had been accustomed during the Greek occupation under Menander.

Another very large find of hemidrachms of the Indo-Grecian princes themselves was made on the 29th June, 1871, at the old town of *Sonipat*, or *Sonaprastha*, twenty-eight miles to the north of Delhi. The coins were placed in a common earthen *sarai*, or water vessel, with a narrow neck, about three feet under ground, near the bank of a tank, where they were found by some women digging clay. The discovery was at first concealed, and many of the coins are said to have been melted. The *exact* number, therefore, will never be known; but all the

people agree that about 3 *sers*, or 6 lbs. in weight, were found. This weight would give rather more than 1,200 hemidrachms; but as a large mass of the coins at the bottom of the vessel were completely oxidized, and as many of them are known to have been melted, the actual number now existing is believed to be under 1,000. Of this number I now possess 745 coins, and I have seen and examined 138 others, or altogether 883 specimens, being very nearly three-fourths of the whole find. This find comprises coins of no less than eleven different princes posterior to Eukratides, and of one Queen, Kalliope. Of Hermæus, the last Greek king, there are only 32 specimens, while there is the same number of the double-headed coins of Hermæus and Kalliope. The following table shows the relative numbers of coins of the different princes amongst the total of 883 which I have examined.

	Kings.	Author.	Others.	Total.
1	Heliokles	27	3	30
2	Straton	17	2	19
3	Antimachus II.	54	10	64
4	Apollodotus	21	5	26
5	Lysias	13	6	19
6	Philoxenes	18	3	21
7	Antialkidas	64	15	79
8	Menander	481	83	564
9	Diomedes	11	1	12
10	Amyntas	4	1	5
11	Hermæus	17	5	22
12	„ and Kalliope	18	4	22
	Total	745	138	883

In this list the large number of the coins of Menander is as remarkable as the paucity of those of Apollodotus and Hermæus. The equal number of the coins of Hermæus alone, and of Kalliope, is also very curious.

Taking this last fact into consideration along with the entire absence of any coins of the earlier Indo-Scythian princes, Vonones, Moas, or Azas, I conclude that the hoard must have been buried in the beginning of the reign of Hermæus. About that time, as I have already shown, the Greek troops would appear to have been finally withdrawn from India, and all the conquests of Menander to the east of the Satlej were abandoned. Perhaps, therefore, it is not too hazardous to conjecture that this Sonipat treasure, of about 6 *minæ* or one-tenth of a talent, may have been secreted by some Greek officer during the anarchy and general confusion which followed soon after the death of Menander. I presume that the town of *Sonipat*, one of the oldest in Northern India, was then garrisoned by Greek troops, and that the luckless owner of the treasure being suddenly called away to take part in the "cruel dreadful war in their own kingdom caused between themselves," as described by Garga the Indian astronomer, was killed in the bitter contest, and his secret consequently buried in his grave.

All of these Sonipat coins are more or less worn by circulation. Some of them, indeed, are almost obliterated on the reverse side, and this is more particularly the case with the coins of Heliokles, Straton, Antimachus II., and Apollodotus. But the comparative amount of wear can be best judged of by the following table, which gives the average weights of 703 coins of eleven different kings, with the loss on each referred to the standard of 37 grains, as determined from the best preserved specimens of these Indo-Grecian kings.

	Specimens.	Kings.	Total Weight.	Mean Weight.	Loss.
1	28	Heliokles	884.00	31.57	5.43
2	15	Apollodotus	486.50	32.43	4.57
3	15	Straton	486.55	32.44	4.56
4	53	Antimachus II.	1724.00	32.52	4.48
5	77	Antialkidas	2533.25	32.90	4.10
6	12	Lysias.	396.50	33.27	3.73
7	21	Philoxenes	693.50	33.23	3.77
8	450	Menander	14,977.00	33.28	3.72
9	9	Diomedes	302.50	33.61	3.39
10	5	Amyntas	168.50	33.70	3.30
11	18	Hermæus	608.50	33.80	3.20
	703			33.09	

This table shows such considerable differences between the weights of the earlier and later coins, as could only, in my opinion, have been caused by equally great differences in the periods during which the coins had been in circulation. Thus, taking the dates of 165 and 135 B.C. as the extremes between the coins of Heliokles and Hermæus, it is clear that there would be a great difference in the amount of wear between the two if the money had been buried early in the reign of Hermæus, when his coins were nearly new, while those of Heliokles had been thirty years in circulation. For this reason I look upon the small loss shown by the coins of Hermæus and Kalliope as a strong evidence that they had not been long in circulation; and I conclude, therefore, that the Sonipat hoard must have been buried during the early part of the reign of Hermæus.

AMYNTAS, NIKATOR.

1. O Æ 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 1. Brit. Mus., 128 grs. Unique. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with the ends of his diadem hanging behind, and chlamys on

shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑ-
ΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Draped and helmeted figure of Athene Promachos moving to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in her upraised right hand. In field to left No. 139 monogram of Ophiana. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârajasa jayhadharasa Amitasa.*

2. O \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate XIII., Fig. 2. Dr. Chapman. Duplicates, author, 35 grs.; and Lahore Mus., from Sonipat find. Only these three specimens known.

Obv.—Diademed head of king to right, covered with the Macedonian *kausia*, with the ends of his diadem hanging behind, and chlamys on his shoulders. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Draped figure of Zeus Nikephoros seated, and half turned to the left, with sceptre and palm branch in left hand, and a small figure of Victory in right hand. In field to left No. 127 monogram, with the addition of a central horizontal stroke. Circular Arian legend as on No. 1.

3. O \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma.* Author. Unique. From the Sonipat find. 32½ grs.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to left, with ægis on his left arm, and hurling a javelin with his upraised right hand. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Seated figure of Zeus Nikephoros holding a small Victory in his right hand, as on No. 2. Monogram and circular Arian legend as on No. 2.

4. O \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma.* Plate XIII., Fig. 3. E. I. Mus. Duplicate, author, 34 grs. No other specimens known.

Obv.—Bare head of king to right, with ends of his diadem hanging behind, and chlamys on his shoulder. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Zeus Nikephoros seated with Victory, as on No. 2. Monogram as on No. 2. Circular Arian legend as on No. 1.

5. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 4. Brit. Mus. Duplicate, E. I. Mus. Very rare.

Obv.—Bearded head of king to right, covered with a lofty tiara, shaped like a Phrygian cap. Sceptre and chlamys on shoulders. Greek legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Draped figure of Pallas Athene, armed with helmet, spear, and shield, moving to left, with her right hand extended before her. In field to left No. 139 monogram of Ophiana. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahârâjasa jayadharasa Amitasa.*

6. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 5. Author, 127 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 2. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ii., 14.

Obv.—Bearded head of king to right, covered with a peculiar rayed head-dress, and with chlamys on the shoulder. Greek legend on three sides as on No. 5.

Rev.—Draped figure of Pallas Athene as on No. 5. In field to left No. 139 monogram of Ophiana. Arian legend on three sides as on No. 5. A duplicate in my collection has No. 65 monogram, forming *Nikaia*, or *Kabul*.

N.B.—R. Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, February, 1839, p. 90, describes one of these coins as having a "bearded head" and the other a "beardless head." "On the few specimens which I have seen I did not observe any difference. The head with the rayed diadem is certainly bearded." (See *Journal des Savants*, February, 1839, pl. i., fig. 12.) See also the similar coins of Hermæus, Pl. XIV., Fig. 12, accompanying, and *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxi., fig. 15. I think that the other portrait is also bearded, judging from the similar coins of Hermæus.

HIPPOSTRATUS THE GREAT, SOTER.

1. ○ Æ 11. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 6. Author, 148 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Draped figure of Demeter to left, holding a cornucopia in her left hand, and extending her right hand to the front. In the field to left the Greek monogram No. 115, forming APT, and to right the Arian letter *a*, No. 116. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa trâdatasa Hipastratasa*.

1a. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 36 grs. Thomas, 1 a. Types, legends, and monogram as on No. 1.

2. O Æ 12. *Didrachmon*. Author, 142 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on shoulders, as on No. 1. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1, with Soter only.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of king on horseback, galloping to right, as in Pl. XIII., Fig. 7. In field below No. 48 monogram, which I read as ΚΑΣΠΕΙΡΑΣ, or *Kaspeira*, and would identify with *Kasyapapura*, or Multân. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa trâdatasa jayantasa Hipastratasa*.

N.B.—The title of *jayanta*, the victorious, has no equivalent in the Greek legend of the obverse.

2a. O Æ 12. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 7. Author, 135 grs. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, as on No. 1. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of the king on horseback galloping to the right. In field below No. 48 monogram of *Kaspeira*. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa trâdatasa Mahatasa jayantasa Hipastratasa*.

2b. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 36 grs. Thomas, No. 2a.

Types and legends as on No. 2a. Monogram No. 110.

3. O Æ 11. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 8. Author, 144 grs. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right. Circular Greek legend as on No. 2a.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of king on horseback standing at rest. In field to right No. 110 Greek monogram, With the Arian letter *ch* to left, and the Arian

letter *n* in the exergue. Circular Arian legend as on No. 2a, including the additional title of *jayanta*. Other specimens have the Arian letters *pre*, or *lo*, or *miśi* in the exergue.

4. □ Æ 10. *Tetrachalkon*, or *Hemiobol*. Plate XIII., Fig. 9. Author, 295 grs. Very rare.

Obv.—A triton standing to the front, with fishtails for legs, holding a dolphin in his right hand and a rudder in his left. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΙΙΙΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Demeter standing to left, holding a palm-branch in her left hand, and extending her right hand to the front. In field to left, the Greek monogram No. 115, forming APT, and to right the Arian monogram forming *ar*. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahârâjasa trâdatasa Hipastratasa*.

5. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIII., Fig. 10. Author, 131 grs. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Draped figure of Apollo standing to right, holding an arrow with both hands. Greek legend on three sides as on No. 4.

Rev.—Tripod, with Greek and Arian monograms forming APT and *ar*, as on No. 4. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 4.

- 5a. ○ Æ 13. *Trichalkon*. E. I. Mus., from General Abbott, 250 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 5.

6. □ Æ 8. Plate XIII., Fig. 11. Author, 93 grs. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Zeus seated on throne half turned to left, and holding out a wreath in his right hand. Legend on three sides as on No. 4.

Rev.—Horse walking to left, surrounded by a square of astragalus beads. In field to left variant form of No. 46 monogram, forming *ortospañā*. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahârâjasa tradatasa jayantasa Hipastratasa*. Here again the word *jayantasa*, or the "victorious," has no equivalent in the Greek legend of the obverse.

N.B.—General Fox possesses a large copper coin of the same types.

ARTEMIDORUS, ANIKETOS.

1. O Æ 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 1. Author 128 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamy on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Draped figure of Artemis to left, with quiver at her back, and drawing her bow. In field to left No. 119 monogram. Circular Arian legend *Mahârâjasa apadîhatasa Artemidorasa*.

2. O Æ 6. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XIV., Fig. 2. Author 36 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of the king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Draped figure of Artemis drawing a bow, as on No. 1, with the same monogram and Arian legend.

3. O Æ 6. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XIV., Fig. 3. Author 37 grs. Unique. From the late Mr. Brereton.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to right, holding out a wreath in her right hand, and carrying a palm-branch in her left. In field to right No. 120 monogram, forming ΑΡΤΕΜΙ, perhaps for some town named *Artemisias*, or *Artemita*, in honour of the goddess, whose name is borne by the king. Circular Arian legend as on No. 1.

4. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 4. Author. Very rare. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Draped figure of Artemis to the front, holding a bow in her left hand, and drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back with the right hand. Greek legend on three sides as on No. 1.

Rev.—Humped Indian bull to right. In field below No. 58 monogram of *Demetrias*. Arian legend on three sides as on No. 1.

APOLLOPHANES, SOTER.

1. O R 6. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XIV., Fig. 5. Author, 37 grs. Five specimens of which are now in the Brit. Mus.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Figure of Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to right No. 142 Greek monogram, forming ΕΥΕΥ, for *Euthydemia*, and to left the Arian letter *hi*. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa tradatasa Apuluphanasa*.

TELEPHUS, EUERGETES.

1. O R 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XIV., Fig. 6. [Elliot collect]. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Unique. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Giant (? Scythes) with snaky legs to front. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.

Rev.—Two draped figures of Helios and Selene standing to the front, the former crowned with the solar rays, the latter with the lunar crescent. In field to right a variant form of No. 77 monogram, perhaps forming ΓΑΖΑΚΑΣ, the *Gazaka* of Ptolemy, and the *Gazos* of Dionysius, which I have identified with Ghazni. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa kalâna-kramasa Teliphasa*.

N.B.—The late Mr. Brereton told me that he had seen a didrachmon of Telephus in the possession of a Kabul Jew at Attok.

HERMÆUS, SOTER.

1. O R 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 7. Author, 145 grs. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—The Olympian Zeus seated on throne half turned to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and

extending his right hand to the front. In field to left No. 100 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa tradatasa Hermayasa*.

1a. O R 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 31 to 36 grs. Thomas, No. 1a. Common.

Types and legends as on No. 1. Monograms various.

2. O R 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 8. Author, 153 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of the king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—The Olympian Zeus seated as on No. 1. In field monogram No. 100, for *Demetrias*. Circular Arian legend as on No. 1.

2a. O R 6. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 31 grs. Unique.

Types and legends as on No. 2, with No. 139 monogram, forming *Ophiana*.

3. O R 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author. Unique. From the Sonipat find.

Obv.—King on horseback galloping to right. Circular Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—The Olympian Zeus seated as on No. 1. In field to right No. 58 monogram, forming *Demetrias*. Circular Arian legend as on No. 1.

HERMÆUS AND KALLIOPE.

4. O R 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XIV., Fig. 9. Author, 36 grs. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Bare diademed heads of king and queen to right, with drapery on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of king on horseback galloping to right. In field below No. 139 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa tradatasa Hermayasa Kaliyapaya*.

5. □ Æ 5. *Lepton*. Plate XIV., Fig. 10. Author, 27 grs. Unique.

Obv.—King on horseback galloping to right.

Rev.—No type, but in the middle of the field the Greek letters AIOY, which I take to be the latter half of the name of Hermæus.

6. ○ Æ 10. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 11. Author, 143 grs. Common. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—The Olympian Zeus seated as on the silver coins. In field to left No. 46 monogram, forming *Orto-spana*. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârajasa tradatasa Hermayasa*.

6a. ○ Æ 6. *Lepton*. Author, 33 and 34 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 5.

7. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 12. Author, 125 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Bearded head of king to right, covered with a rayed tiara, his shoulders clad with the chlamys. Greek legend on three sides as on No. 6.

Rev.—Horse standing to right, with right fore-leg raised. Arian legend on three sides as on No. 6.

8. □ Æ 10. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 13. Author, 131 and 138 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 4a.

Obv.—Bearded head of king, covered with a lofty tiara. Greek legend on three sides as on No. 6.

Rev.—Horse standing with right fore-leg raised, as on No. 7. Arian legend on three sides as on No. 6.

9. ○ Æ 8. *Chalkous*. Plate XIV., Fig. 14. Author, 70 to 90 grs. Of rude fabric.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, blundered, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—The Olympian Zeus seated as on the silver coins. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârajasa mahatasa Hermayasa*.

N.B.—On these coins the Arian legend presents the title of *mahatasa*, the “great,” instead of the usual *tradatasa*, the “preserver.” One coin gives the name of *Hermaasa*, and on the obverse I think that I can trace the lofty title of *BACIAEWN BACIAEWE*.

10. O Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Plate XIV., Fig. 15. Author, 50 grs. Rare.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, of rude execution. Circular Greek legend, with ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ, as on No. 9.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory to left, holding out a wreath in her right hand. Circular Arian legend, *Mahārājasa rājarājasa mahatasa Hermayasa*.

N.B.—On some specimens the lofty title of “king of kings” is expressed by *Mahārājasa rayadīrayasa*.

10a. O Æ 5. *Lepton*. Author, 28 to 35 grs. Rare.

Types and legends as on No. 10.

11. O Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XIV., Fig. 16. Author, 135 grs. Common. Thomas, No. 1. Su-Hermæus.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular Greek legend, blundered, with ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ, as on No. 9.

Rev.—Herakles standing to the front, with the skin of the Nemæan lion on his left arm, and his right hand holding a club, which rests on the ground. Circular Arian legend, *Kujula Kasasa Yavugasa dhramathidasa*.

N.B.—This last coin of the Greek kings of India, which bears the name of Hermæus, with blundered Greek title on the obverse, presents an entirely new legend on the reverse, which has no connection with the Greek legend. On the reverse we find the name and titles of the great Scythian conqueror, *Kujula Kasa*, the leader of the Kushân tribe. The name of the Greek king on the obverse was afterwards dropped, and that of his Scythian conqueror takes its place in barbarous Greek, as ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΑΦΙΖΟΥ, which on other specimens of different type is modified to ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΑΑΦΕΟ, with the title of ΖΑΟΥ, in the Greek legend, and to *Kuyula Kaphsa*, with the title of *Yaiia*, in the Arian legend. The Greek form of ΖΑΟΥ, which has hitherto been always misread as ΖΑΟΥ, is, therefore, an attempt to transliterate the native title of *Yavug*, or

Yaii. Professor Dowson reads *Yarug* and *Yaii*, and suggests that "the two words are probably only different ways of expressing some foreign title."² He notes also that the gutturals are frequently omitted, as in *dhamiasa* for *dhamikasa*—to which I may add *mahata* and *mahataka*. *Yavug*, by dropping the guttural, will become *Yavu*, which is really the same as *Yaii*, for which the Greek ZAOOY is a very close rendering.

AMYNTAS, NIKATOR.

B.C. 140—138.

The coins of Amyntas are exceedingly rare, only twenty-six specimens being known to me, of which five are in my own cabinet. There are only three distinct types; but there are several different styles of head-dress, as the Macedonian *kausia*, the common helmet, and two varieties of Oriental tiara. From the Macedonian cap, as well as from his Macedonian name, I infer that he must have been connected with the family of Lysias and Antialkidas. I suppose him to have been the son of the latter prince, and that he may have been employed during the reign of Menander as a tributary governor. On the death of that great king, amid the general scramble for power, Amyntas must have kept his hold on Kâbul, where he probably reigned for one or two years, from B.C. 140 to 138.

This assignment is partially borne out by the monograms on his coins, among which there are *Nikaia* or Kâbul (No. 65), and *Ophiana* or Alexandria (No. 139). The find-spots of his coins also point to the Kâbul valley as the seat of his power. But the strong argument in favour of Kâbul, is the fact that the chief type of Zeus, as well as the two curious Oriental head-dresses of his coins, are found

² Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, xx., p. 240.

repeated on those of his successor, Hermæus, whose seat of power was undoubtedly Kâbul itself, and Jalalabad.

The type of Athene Promachos, which is found on the unique didrachmon in the British Museum, is precisely the same as that on the coins of Menander, his immediate predecessor. On all of his six hemidrachms, we find but one type, that of the seated Olympian Zeus, which is copied from the coins of Antialkidas, his presumed father.³ A similar figure is found on the coins of Hermæus, which the learned Raoul Rochette believed to have been copied from the coins of Alexander II., Zebina, of Syria, who reigned from B.C. 129 to 123. He argues that this particular representation of the god, seated on a high-backed throne, was taken from the colossal statue of the Olympic Zeus at Antioch; and, as its first appearance on the Syrian money took place under Alexander Zebina, this type must have preceded that on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactriana.⁴ But, as we have already seen this same figure on the coins of Antialkidas, who, according to all inquirers, reigned many years before Alexander II. of Syria, and whom R. Rochette himself places immediately after Eukratides,⁵ we must altogether discard

³ See Pl. 8, Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.

⁴ *Journal des Savants*, Oct., 1835, p. 580:—"En effet, ce type est manifestement imité de celui des médailles d'Alexandre II., Zebina, roi de Syrie, qui représentent *Jupiter, assis sur un siège à jour, avec dossier*; et cette manière de représenter le dieu suprême, dont le colosse d'or et d'ivoire formait le principal ornement d'Antioche, est, sur la monnaie des rois de Syrie, une innovation qui ne s'est ni montrée avant le règne Alexandre II., ni reproduite depuis; et dont l'usage, en conséquence, renfermé entre les années 129 et 123 avant notre ère, doit avoir précédé l'imitation qui se fit de ce type sur la monnaie Grecque des rois de la Bactriane."

⁵ *Journal des Savants*, Mars, 1836, p. 183:—"Je me crois donc maintenant pleinement autorisé à placer la règne d'Antial-

this idea of imitation of the Syrian coinage, and its consequent value in fixing the chronology of the Greek kings of Bactria and India.

Wilson, curiously enough, repeats this suggestion of R. Rochette, and calls the high-backed chair on the coins of Hermæus "a piece of furniture first observable on the coins of Alexander Zebina of Syria, who died in B.C. 123,"⁶ although he has given engravings of two coins of Antialkidas, the type of which he describes as "Jupiter seated in a chair with a high back," while he assigns Antialkidas to B.C. 135.⁷ I have already shown how this partiality for regarding the types of the Bactro-Grecian and Indo-Grecian coins as imitations of the Syrian money had misled the learned French author in the case of the Pallas Athene found on the coins of the Bactrian Demetrius, which he suggested was copied from the money of the kings of Kappadokia, and, more especially, from the coins of Antiochus IX. and Seleukus VI. of Syria, a position which is quite untenable, as the whole of these princes were posterior to Demetrius of Bactria. I have considered it necessary to discuss this point fully, because, if we accept R. Rochette's conclusions, we must assign not only

kidès à peu de distance de celui d'Eucratide II. et, si je ne me trompe, il dut occuper, dans la succession des princes qui gardaient la frontière septentrionale de la Bactriane, le rang qui vient immédiatement après Philoxène." Lassen places Antialkides in B.C. 150—140; Wilson, in B.C. 135.

⁶ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 292.

⁷ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 277, and pl. ii., figs. 11 and 12. Wilson has committed another mistake of a similar kind, in supposing that the double portrait of Hermæus and Kalliope was a novelty, which might "have been suggested by the heads of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII. of Syria, B.C. 125 (*Ar. Ant.*, p. 292) while in pl. xxi., fig. 7, he has given an engraving of the beautiful tetradrachm of Eukratides, with the heads of his father and mother, Heliokles and Laodike, on the opposite side.

Hermæus, but also Amyntas and Antialkidas to a date somewhat later than 129 B.C.

On the copper coins of Amyntas the sole type is that of Pallas Athene, armed with helmet, spear, and buckler, moving to the left, and holding out her right hand.⁸ Wilson suggests some affinity with the Pallas on the coins of Demetrius; but both the position and the action are different. The type was probably original on the coins of Amyntas, from which it appears to have been afterwards copied on the money of the Indo-Scythian princes, Vonones and Azas.

The place which I have assigned to Amyntas, following Menander, and immediately preceding Hermæus, is, I think, fully established by the two peculiar head-dresses on his copper coins, both of which appear again on the square copper coins of Hermæus, and are found only on the coins of these two princes. Wilson justly describes them as belonging to a "more barbarous period."⁹ One of these curious head-dresses is described by Raoul Rochette as "*une tiare recourbée en avant et ornée de rayons sur les côtés.*" The other seems to be of exactly the same shape, but without the rays. These curious head-dresses are certainly not Greek; and, as they show an increase of Oriental influence, the kings who adopted them must be assigned to a late period of the Greek rule in India. The dominions of Amyntas I suppose to have been confined to the Kabul valley, excluding Peshâwar, which, from the monograms, would appear to have belonged to Artemidorus.

⁸ See R. Rochette's description, *Journal des Savants*, Fév., 1839, p. 90, and pl. i., fig. 12.

⁹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 271.

HIPPOSTRATUS, the Great.—SOTER.

B.C. 140—135.

The position of Hippostratus is chiefly determined by the find-spots of his coins, which are limited to the North-west and West Panjâb. The coins themselves are not very rare, but the copper money is less plentiful than the silver. Altogether, I have seen just sixty specimens, of which upwards of twenty are in my own cabinet. The monograms are confined to three varieties of equally common occurrence, not one of which, however, can be assigned with certainty to any particular city. No. 110 monogram may be read as Taxila; No. 48 as Kaspeira, or Multân; and No. 115, which forms APT, is probably intended for *Artoarta*, as it is always accompanied by the Arian letter *a* on the same face of the coin. The city of *Artoarta* is mentioned by Ptolemy, who places it immediately to the west of the Indus. According to all these indications, I infer that Hippostratus must have ruled over the Panjâb.

By the style and fabric of his coins, as well as by the types of Apollo and his tripod, on both round and square coins, Hippostratus claims a close connection with Apollodotus. The adoption of the title of Great points in the same direction. Hippostratus was probably the son of Apollodotus, and we may suppose that he saved himself by becoming a tributary governor under Menander, when other members of his family were reduced. The type of the galloping horseman shows a connection with the princes of the hostile family of Antialcidas and Lysias, perhaps referring to his own marriage, which might have united the interests of the two rival families during the supremacy of Menander. The type of the Olympian Zeus,

which is copied from the coins of Antialkidas, not improbably refers to the same connection.

The silver coins of Hippostratus are more common than the copper; but they are not numerous. I would therefore limit his reign to four or five years, and assign him to the period between 140 and 135 B.C.

ARTEMIDORUS, ANIKETOS.

B.C. 140—138.

Of this ephemeral prince, whose coins known to me are limited to seven specimens, I have little to say. I got the first of his coins in Kashmir, in 1848, and I have since obtained four others from Peshâwar and the North-west Panjâb. One of them is a *didrachmon*, the whole style and fabric of which are so like those of Menander's coins, that I am very strongly inclined to believe him to have been the son and successor of that powerful and popular prince. Of the seven coins known to me, three of silver and one of copper are now in my own collection; and the original copper coin which I got in Kashmir is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Two of the silver coins bear the figure of Artemis on the reverse, in evident allusion to the king's name. The third silver coin gives the figure of Victory, which is so uncommon on the silver money of these Indo-Grecian kings, that I know of but one other example, on a recently acquired unique hemidrachma of Menander. As this coin bears the title of *Dikaios*, it must have been struck towards the end of his reign; and the adoption of the type by Artemidorus, offers another point of connection with Menander, besides the general style and fabric of the coins.

The monograms are limited to three, of which one is an obvious compound of *Artamita* or *Artemisias* (see No. 120). A second, No. 119, is not resolvable; but the third, which is found on all the four copper coins, is the well-known monogram of Demetrias, No. 58, which was most probably the Greek name of the city of Peukelaotis, to the north of Peshâwar. Both the monograms and the find-spots of the coins thus agree in showing that Artemidorus must have ruled over the Lower Kabul valley, of which some city represented by No. 58 monogram was the capital.

On the death of Menander I suppose that Artemidorus, his presumed son, may have succeeded to this central portion of his wide dominions, while the western territory of Kabul was seized by Amyntas, the Eastern Panjâb by Apollophanes, and all the North and North-west Panjâb by Hippostratus. As the coins of Artemidorus are exceedingly rare, his rule cannot have extended beyond one or two years. I suppose him therefore to have reigned over the Peshâwar valley for a short time immediately after the death of Menander, or from B.C. 140 to 138.

APOLLOPHANES, SOTER.

B.C. 140.

It is difficult to say anything regarding a prince who is only known to us from five coins, all of the same type. These five coins I procured in the Panjâb, together with several rude coins of Straton I. and Straton II. of the same type. As these rude coins of Straton I. bear the same monogram as those of Apollophanes, they must have been minted at the same place. This monogram (No. 142) I read as *Euthydemia* or *Sangala*, which was

the capital of the Eastern Panjâb. The coins of Apollophanes preserve the full weight of the Indo-Grecian hemidrachms, two of the five weighing 37 grains each, but the metal is base, and the execution barbarous. I may hazard the suggestion that this prince must have belonged to the family of Straton and Menander, and that he held the Eastern Panjâb for a short time just before the final extinction of the Greek dominion in India. This may have been in 140 B.C., immediately after the death of Menander, or perhaps as late as 135 B.C., after the death of Hippostratus. The rule of Apollophanes I suppose to have been brought to a close by the increasing power of the native princes, rather than by the hostility of his own countrymen.

TELEPHUS, EUERGETES.

B.C. 135.

A single silver coin of this prince was obtained towards the close of the Afghan campaign in 1841, which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Its strange types offer nothing whatever to guide us in assigning him a position either in time or place, and its single monogram is not found on the coins of any other Greek prince. But as the coin itself is of inferior workmanship, Telephus must be placed towards the close of the Greek rule. I should therefore assign him to the year B.C. 135, immediately after Hippostratus, when he may have ruled either in Peshâwar, or in the North-west Panjâb, for a few months before he was subdued by Hermæus.

The type of the giant with the snaky legs may possibly refer to Scythes, the son of Herakles and Echidna according to Herodotus, or of Zeus and Echidna according to

Diodorus, who was the eponymous hero of the Scythian nations.¹⁰ If this supposition is correct, the type would show some connection with the Scythians. The mother of Telephus may perhaps have been a Scythian princess, and the type would thus refer to his Scythian descent.

HERMÆUS, SOTER.

B.C. 138—120.

The coins of Hermæus were found in such numbers at Begrâm by Masson, that he concluded there must have been no less than three different kings of that name.¹¹ To the first he assigned the coins given in Pl. XIV., Fig. 11; to the second, Fig. 15; and to the third, Fig. 16. But this opinion was justly objected to by both R. Rochette and Lassen.¹² The conclusion which the former experienced and judicious Numismatist drew from the same facts was, "that a prince of the name of Hermæus, after Apollodotus, ruled the country of which Nysa was the capital; and that his reign, judging from the quantity of his money, must have been a long one; and that it lasted until the Scythian occupation of Bactriana." From the description of the three different coins already given, it will be seen that the first and second belong to a single king, Hermæus Soter, and that the third class bears two names, that of Hermæus Soter in the Greek legend, and of *Kujula Kadphizes* in the Arian legend. This joint appearance of the names of a Greek and a Scythian ruler on the same coin offers a convincing proof that Hermæus must have been the last of the Indo-Grecian princes,

¹⁰ Herodotus, iv., 9, 10. Diodorus, ii., 43.

¹¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1834, p. 167.

¹² Journal des Savants, April, 1863, p. 194.

and that *Kujula Kadphizes* must have been the Scythian prince who subverted the Greek dominion in India. This conclusion is definitely proved by the final disappearance of the name of Hermæus from the coinage, its place being taken by that of the Scythian conqueror *Kujula Kadphizes* in the Greek legend without any alteration of the types.

The coins of Hermæus, which are found in such numbers in the Kabul valley, are much less common to the east of the Indus, and there the find-spots are limited to the north-west portion of the Panjâb. The monograms are very varied, there being no less than twenty different kinds on eighty coins which I have examined. But of this number no less than twenty-five specimens bear No. 48 monogram of *Ortospana*; eight bear No. 139 of Ophiana (all these are Kalliope coins); six bear No. 41, of which the reading is doubtful; five bear No. 58 of *Demetrias*; five bear the letters MO, or a combination of them; three bear No. 128; and two bear No. 129 monogram. The last three I read conjecturally as MOYA for *Multân* in the Southern Panjâb, but all the other places shown by the monograms are in the Kâbul valley.

The types of the coins of Hermæus are few, and offer no novelties. The most important coin is the hemidrachma with the portraits of himself and his queen, Kalliope, as I understand it to refer to a royal alliance. Hermæus himself I suppose to have been the brother of Amyntas, whom he succeeded on the throne of Kâbul about B.C. 138. The seated Zeus of Olympus, as well as the two curious head-dresses on the coins of Hermæus, are undoubted copies of the coins of Amyntas, but the proof of relationship will not be complete until we obtain a coin of Hermæus with the Macedonia *Kausia*. Kalliope

may have been the daughter of Menander or Hippostratus, or even of Amyntas; and perhaps the type of the horseman, which is found on all her coins, points to her connection with the Macedonian dynasty of Antialkidas. But the horseman is also found on the obverse of a single hemidrachma of Hermæus himself, which I have lately obtained from the Sonipat find.

The coins of Hermæus, as already stated, are of three distinct kinds:—1, pure Greek, of good workmanship, with either the Olympic Zeus, or a horse on the reverse; 2, rude copper coins, with either the seated Zeus or Victory on the reverse, and the Greek legend of the obverse invariably blundered, offering ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ instead of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, but with the Arian legend perfect; 3, boldly executed coins with the same blunder in the Greek legend, but on the reverse, a standing figure of Herakles, with the name and titles of the Scythian Prince *Kujula Kadphizes* in the Arian legend.

The last class is of special interest and importance, as it reveals to us not only the name and title of the Scythian conqueror, but also the name of his tribe. By comparing the two legends of these last coins, we find that the conqueror was named ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕC, or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΗC in Greek, that his title was ΖΑΟΥ, and his tribe the ΚΟΠΑΝΟ. The Greek ΖΑΟΥ, or *Zawu*, is represented in the Arian legend in two slightly different ways, as *Yaiü* and *Yang*, or *Yavug*, which is evidently the same title as *Shao-wu*, which the Chinese gave to all kings who were descendants of the great Scythian ruler named *Wen*.¹³ This title of *Shao* or *Zao*, was afterwards changed to Rao, PAO, by Kanishka and his successors, in

¹³ Remusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," tom. i., pp. 203, 219, and 227.

conformity with a peculiar law of the Turki dialect, which changes an initial *sh* or *z* to *r*. The tribal name of KOPANO is represented in the Arian legends of the coins by *Kushân* and *Khushân*, and in the inscriptions by *Gushân*. Here, therefore, we have the same change from *sh* to *r* in the middle of a word, although the rule, as laid down in books, is limited to these letters when they are initial.¹⁴ We thus learn from the coins that the Greek dominion in India was overthrown by a Scythian chief named *Kujula Kadphizes*, who was the *Zau* or *Shao* of the *Kushân* tribe. Now, turning to the Chinese authorities, we find that sometime before the Christian era, the chief of the *Kuei-shwang* tribe of the great *Yuchi*, named *Khiu-tsiu-ki*, subjected the other four tribes of the nation, and assuming the title of "King of the *Kuei-shwang*, or *Kushân*, conquered *Kaofu*, *Kipiu*, and *Hantha*, or Ophiana, Kophene, and Parthia.¹⁵

This account is confirmed by the few notices of classical authors regarding the overthrow of the Greek dominion in Bactria, and the name of the ruling tribe of Scythians who caused its downfall. From Trogus we learn that Bactria and Sogdiana were occupied by the Scythian tribes of *Saranœ* (read *Sarauœ* to agree with Strabo's *Sagarakœ*) and *Asiani*; and, afterwards, that the *Asiani* gave kings to the *Tochari*, and overthrew the *Sarduchœ*,¹⁶ for whom I believe that we must again read *Sarauœ*

¹⁴ That this law was actually extended to these same letters in the middle of words we learn from the Greek forms of KANHPKE and OOHHPKE, which correspond with *Kanishka* and *Hurishka* of the inscriptions.

¹⁵ Remusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," i., 222.

¹⁶ Trog. Pomp. Prolog., c. 41 :—"Scythicæ gentes Saranœ et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos;" c. 42 : "Additæ res Scythicæ, reges Thocarorum Asiani, interitusque Sarducharum."

or *Sagaraukæ*. Here the *Asiani* are evidently the *Kushân* tribe, who gave kings to the whole nation of the *Yuchi*, or *Tochari*, and subdued *Kaofu* and *Kipiu*. The war with the Parthians is confirmed by the classical accounts of the death of Phraates II. (Arsakes VII.) in battle with the Scythians in B.C. 126, and of the death of his successor, Artabanus II., in battle with the *Thogarii* in B.C. 123.¹⁷ In these, *Thogarii*, we have the *Tochari*, and we thus learn that the *Tochari* or *Yuchi*, had actually come into conflict with the Parthians before the death or deposal of Hermæus.

In the Chinese *Khiu-tsiu-ki*, the conqueror of Kophene and Parthia, I recognise *Kujula Kadphizes* of the coins, the overthrower of the Greek dominion in the Kabul valley, and the successful leader of the *Thogarii* or *Tochari* against Phraates and Artabanus of Parthia. According to the Chinese authorities, these events took place about one hundred years after the embassy of Chang-kian to the *Yuchi*, which dates from B.C. 139 to 126, or perhaps from their first settlement in Bactria, after the death of their king, Lao-shang, which took place in B.C. 163. *Khieu-tsiu-ki* died at eighty-four years of age, and his son, *Yen-kao-ching*, extended his conquests far into India, towards the south and east. If we allow forty or fifty years to the reign of the long-lived father, the reign of the son may be fixed at from B.C. 80 to 60, or just one hundred years after the first occupation of Bactria by the *Yuchi*. Or, if we must accept the embassy of Chang-kian as the starting point, I would take the year B.C. 139, in which he left China, and curtail the vague number of "about one hundred years" to seventy-five or eighty years, and

¹⁷ Justini, xlii. 1, 2.

thus bring the Chinese date into accord with that derived from the classical authorities, by referring to the conquests of Yen-kao-ching in India, about B.C. 60.

My view of the career of Hermæus may be summed up as follows:—He was most probably the brother of Amyntas, and succeeded him on the throne of Kabul about B.C. 138. By his marriage with the Princess Kalliope, he must have increased his power, and perhaps also his dominions. To this marriage I would assign the acquisition of the Lower Kabul valley, with its capital Demetrias. About B.C. 135, he probably took advantage of the death of Hippostratus to extend his rule into the Panjâb, and to add the rich city of Taxila to his kingdom. His dominions would then have stretched from Kabul on the west, to the Hydaspes on the east, and to Ghazni and Multan on the south. For some years he probably ruled in peace, until about B.C. 128, when the *Su*, or *Saka* Scythians, under *Vonones* and *Moas*, being driven from Bactria towards the south, took possession of Kabul and Ghazni. I suppose that Hermæus may then have applied for aid to their powerful enemy, the leader of the *Tochari*, on whose advance the *Sakas*, or *Sacæ* retired to the south and east, where they established several petty kingdoms¹⁸ under *Vonones* and his relatives in Ghazni and Kandahâr, and under *Moas* in the Panjâb. To this period I refer the ruder coins of late date, (Pl. XIV., Fig. 14), on which the equivalent of the Greek title of Soter is omitted in the Arian legend of the reverse, and also those shown in Pl. XIV., Fig. 15, with the type of Victory, and the sounding title of “great king of kings,”

¹⁸ Remusat, “Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques,” i., 205:—“Le roi des *Saï* (*Sakas* or *Sacæ*) vint au midi demeurer dans le *Kipin* (Kophene). Les tribus des *Saï* se divisèrent et se dispersèrent de manière à former çà et là différens royaumes.”

which was employed only in the Arian legends of this new money for the benefit of his native subjects.

From this time, about B.C. 126, I suppose Hermæus to have been a mere pageant king, under the protection of the great Scythian conqueror, *Kujula Kadphizes*, the chief of the Kushân tribe, and leader of the whole nation of *Yuchi*, or Tochari. As the coins with the joint names are common, this state of affairs must have lasted for some years, until it was finally closed either by the death or removal of Hermæus, about B.C. 120.¹⁹

Thus ended the Greek dominion in the East, after a brief but brilliant career of upwards of one hundred and twenty years, from the first establishment of the independent kingdoms of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, by Diodotus and his contemporaries, Pantaleon and Antimachus. But, though the political power of the Greeks had thus gone for ever, yet the far greater power of intellect and civilisation still remained with the Hellenized subjects of the Scythian kings. Their influence was shown by the adoption of the Greek religion and the Greek language by Vonones and Moas and their successors, as well as by the great conqueror, *Kujula Kadphizes*, and his successors. So deeply rooted was this influence of a superior civilisation, that the Greek alphabet and language were still employed by the Scythian chiefs, *Kanishka Huvishka* and *Vâsu Deva*, more than a century after the complete extinction of the Greek kingdom of Hermæus.

¹⁹ In the Hindu Purânas the duration of the *Yavana*, or Greek rule, in India, is said to have been eighty-two years. If we reckon this number back from 120 or 126 B.C. we obtain from 202 to 208 B.C. for the Indian conquests of Demetrius during the lifetime of his father, Euthydemus. Perhaps the same thing is intended by Ferishta in the length of reign, ninety years, assigned to *Jona* (or *Yavana*) Raja, one of the successors of Sansârchand, or Chandragupta.

XI.

ON A HOARD OF ENGLISH GOLD COINS FOUND AT ST. ALBAN'S,

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE EARLY COINS OF EDWARD VI.

THE twenty-nine gold coins of which a list is given below have been kindly submitted to me by the Earl of Verulam for examination. They were found upon his property at St. Michael's, St. Alban's, buried in the ground beneath the floor of an old house, which has been demolished for the purpose of building another on the site. As will be seen, the latest in date of the coins is a half-sovereign of Elizabeth, with the cross-crosslet mint-mark, which was in use during a portion of the first three years of her reign, and is thought to denote a period about 1559-60. The coins were therefore probably deposited soon after that date, though judging from the great number of varieties in the hoard, its original owner had for some few years been gathering together this store of money, adding to it perhaps some three or four pieces at a time.

The coins themselves present some features of interest, but before remarking upon them it is desirable to give a detailed list of the whole, which is as follows :—

HENRY VIII.

ANGELS.

Type, Ruding, Pl. v., No. 6; Snelling, Pl. ii., No. 18.

1. *Obv.*— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \circ \text{VIII} \times \text{DI} \dagger \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} + \pi\text{GL}' \times \text{Z} \times \text{FR}' \circ \times$ m.m. tower. Perforated in o.

Rev.— $\text{P}\epsilon\text{R} \times \text{C}\text{RV}\epsilon\text{C}' \times \text{TV}\pi \dagger \text{S}\pi\text{LV}\pi \times \text{NOS} \dagger \text{X}\text{P}\epsilon' \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{DC}'$. m.m. tower. 79 grs.

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1, but F' only. m.m. tower. Perforated in o.

Rev.—As No. 1, but $\text{R}\epsilon\text{DC}'$. m.m. tower. 79 grs.

3. *Obv.*— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{VIII} \times \text{DI}' + \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \dagger \pi\text{GL}' \times \text{Z} \times \text{FR}' \circ \times$ m.m. portcullis. Perforated in o.

Rev.— $\text{P}\epsilon\text{R} \times \text{C}\text{RV}\epsilon\text{C}' + \text{TV}\pi' \times \text{S}\pi\text{LV}\pi \times \text{NOS} \times \text{X}\text{P}\epsilon + \text{R}\epsilon\text{DC}'$. m.m. portcullis. 79 grs.

Type, Ruding, Pl. vi., No. 6. Pl. viii., fig. 1.

4. *Obv.*— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} , 8 \times \text{D}' \text{G} \times \pi\text{GL}' + \text{FR}\pi \times \text{Z} \times \eta\text{IB} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times$ m.m. fleur-de-lis.

Rev.— $\text{P}\epsilon\text{R} \times \text{C}\text{RV}\epsilon\text{C}' \times \text{TV}\pi' \times \text{S}\pi\text{LV}\pi \text{NOS} + \text{X}\text{P}\epsilon \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{DC}$. m.m. fleur-de-lis. Annulet on ship. 78½ grs.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 4. m.m. fleur-de-lis.

Rev.— $\text{P}\epsilon\text{R} \times \text{C}\text{RV}\epsilon\text{C}' \times \text{TV}\pi' \times \text{S}\pi\text{LV}\pi \times \text{NOS} \times \text{X}\text{P}\epsilon' \text{R}\epsilon\text{DC}' \times$. mm. fleur-de-lis. Annulet on ship. 77½ grs.

HALF-SOVEREIGNS.

Type, Ruding, Pl. vi., No. 11. Pl. viii., fig. 2.

1. *Obv.*— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} : 8 \times \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \pi\text{GL}' \times \text{FR}\pi\text{NCI} \times \text{Z} \times \eta\text{IB} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \times$. m.m. annulet and pellet O.

Rev.— $\text{I}\eta\text{S} \times \pi\text{VT}\epsilon \times \text{TR}\pi\text{NSIENS} \wedge \text{P}\epsilon\text{R} \text{M}\epsilon\text{DI}' \times \text{ILLOR}' \times \text{IB}\pi\text{T}$. m.m. annulet and pellet O. IR or HK below arms. 96 grs.

2. *Obv.*—The same, but FRANCIE . m.m. annulet?

Rev.— $\text{IHS} \times \text{AVTE} \times \text{TRANSI} \times \text{PER MEDI} \times \text{ILLO} \times$
 IBAT . m.m. pellet in annulet. ER below arms.
 97 grs. Annulet on inner circle, below T and above
 side of crown.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 2. m.m. pellet in annulet.

Rev.—As No. 1, but $\text{MEDIV} \times$. m.m. ditto. 97 grs.

4. *Obv.*—As No. 2. m.m. ditto.

Rev.—As No. 1. m.m. ditto. 96 grs.

5. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRIC} : 8 : \text{DI} : \text{GRA} : \text{AGL} : \text{FRANCIE} : \text{Z}$.
 $\text{HIBERNI} : \text{REX}$. m.m. pellet in annulet.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} : \text{AVTEM} : \text{TRANSIENS} : \text{PER} : \text{MEDIVM} :$
 $\text{ILLOVM} : \text{IBAT}$. m.m. Same. Small letters. ER
 on tablet. 93 grs.

6. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRIC} : 8 \times \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{AGL} : \text{FRANCIE} \times \text{Z} \times \text{HIB} \times$
 $\text{REX} \lambda$. m.m. S. Trefoils in legend.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} : \text{AVTE} \times \text{TRANSIE} : \text{PER MEDIV} : \text{ILLO} \times$
 IBAT . m.m. S. ϵ below shield. 98 grs.

7. *Obv.*—As No. 6. m.m. S.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} : \text{AVTE} \times \text{TRANSIENS} \times \text{PER MEDI} : \text{ILLO} :$
 $\text{IBAT} \times$ m.m. ϵ ? ϵ below shield. $93\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

HALF-SOVEREIGNS. Youthful head.

Type, Ruding, Pl. vi., No. 12; Snelling, Pl. ii., No. 21.
 Pl. viii., fig. 3.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRIC} : 8 \text{ DEI} . \text{GRA} : \text{AGL} : \text{FRA} : \text{Z} . \text{HIB} : \text{REX}$.
 m.m. E. Throne with plain narrow back.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} . \text{AVTEM} . \text{TRANSIENS} . \text{PERMEDI} , \text{ILLO} ,$
 IBAT . m.m. E. Diamonds between words. ER
 or HK on tablet. H below shield. 96 grs.

2. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRIC} : 8 . \text{D} . \text{G} . \text{AGL} . \text{FRAN} . \text{Z} . \text{HIB} \text{ REX} : :$
 No m.m. Diamonds between words.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} \text{ AVTE} : \text{TRANSIEN} : \text{PER MEDI} : \text{ILLO} :$
 IBAT . m.m. S? ER on tablet. $91\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

3. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRIC} : 8 . \text{D} : \text{G} : \text{AGL} : \text{FRANCI} . \text{Z} . \text{HIB} : \text{REX}$.
 m.m. a martlet.

Rev.— $\text{IHS} : \text{AVTEM} \text{ TRANSIENS} : \text{PER MEDI} : \text{ILLO} :$
 IBAT . m.m. a martlet. HK? on tablet. $95\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

4. *Obv.*—HENRICC' . 8 . DEI . GRA AGL HIB' REX.
m.m. a martlet (possibly double struck).
Rev.—IHS ' AVT.' TRANSIENS P ER . MEDIV' ILLO
IBAT. m.m. ditto. 93 grs.
5. *Obv.*—HENRIC' 8' D' G' AGL' FRAN' Z' HIB' REX ♦♦♦.
m.m. arrow. Mascles between words.
Rev.—IHS ' AVTE' TRANSIE' . PER : MEDI' ILLOR' .
IBAT. m.m. arrow. HK on tablet below arms.
93 grs.
6. *Obv.*—HENRIC. 8 DEI . GRA' . AGL' . FRA' Z . HIB' .
REX. m.m. arrow. Diamonds between words.
Rev.—IHS . AVTEM . TRANSIENS . PER . MEDI .
ILLOR . IBAT. m.m. arrow. HK on tablet. 91
grs. Small letters.
7. *Obv.*—♦ HENRIC ♦ 8 ♦ D ♦ G ♦ ANGL ♦♦ FRANCO ♦ E
HIBER . REX ♦. m.m. arrow. Mascles between
words.
Rev.—IHS AVTEM + TRANSIENS PER . MEDIVM
ILLOR' IBAT +. m.m. arrow. HK on tablet. Two
specimens, 93 and 97 grs.
8. *Obv.*—As No. 7.
Rev.—As No. 5. 93½ grs.
9. *Obv.*—HENRIC . 8 . DEI . GRA' AGL' FRA . Z . HIB :
REX. No m.m. Diamonds between words.
Rev.—IHS . AVTEM . TRANSIENS . PER MEDI .
ILLOR . IBAT. No m.m. Diamonds between
words. K under shield. Tablet not struck up.
Three specimens, 93½, 93½, and 87½ grs.
10. *Obv.*—HENRIC' . 8 . DEI . GRA' . AGL' . FRA' . Z . HIB .
REX . m.m. grappling iron.
Rev.—IHS . AVTE' . TRANSIEN . PER MEDIV' . ILLO' .
IBAT . m.m. ditto. Grappling-iron below shield.
96½ grs.

EDWARD VI.

HALF-SOVEREIGNS.

Type, Ruding, Pl. vii., No. 8; Snelling, Pl. iii., No. 11.

1. *Obv.*—EDWARD' VI : D' G' AGL' FRA' Z : HIB' REX.
m.m. Y. Head in profile, crowned.

Rev.—⊗ SCVTVM ⊗ FIDEI ⊗ PROTEGET ⊗ EVM ⊗.
m.m. Y. E R at sides of shield. Roses between words. 84 grs.

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.—As No. 1, but POTEGET. (Possibly double struck.)
84 grs.

3. *Obv.*—EDWARD ⊗ VI ⊗ D ⊗ G ⊗ AGL ⊗ FRA ⊗ Z
HIB ⊗ REX ⊗. m.m. grappling iron. Roses
between words.

Rev.—As No. 1. m.m. grappling hook? 81 grs.

ELIZABETH.

HALF-SOVEREIGN.

Type, Ruding, Pl. x., No. 2; Snelling, Pl. iv., No. 12.

1. *Obv.*—ELIZABETH : D : G : ANG . FR : ET . HI . REGINA .
mm. cross crosslet.

Rev.—SCVTVM : FIDEI : PROTEGET : EAM . m.m.
ditto. E. R. 84½ grs.

The angels of Henry VIII. would at first sight appear to afford little subject of comment. There is, however, a peculiarity about them which has, I think, hitherto escaped observation, namely, that in addition to the usual mint-mark, such as the tower, the portcullis, or the fleur-de-lis, there is at the end of the legend, on the obverse, what looks like a second mint-mark, in the shape of a small annulet. The use and intention of this second mark appear to be illustrated by the coins in this hoard, for three out of the five are neatly perforated with a small hole through the centre of the annulet, and are thus adapted for suspension. But why, it will be asked, should the coins of this particular class be prepared in this remarkable manner for being defaced by having holes bored through them? The reason, I would suggest, is that

even in the days of Henry VIII., as we know to have been the case in later days, the angel was the piece of gold hung round the patient's neck at the time of his receiving the royal touch for the king's evil.

It is said that¹ Henry VII. was the first English sovereign who established a particular ceremony to be used on the occasion of touching, and introduced the practice of presenting a small piece of gold. We find the custom thus alluded to by Shakspeare : ²—

Macduff. What's the disease he means ?

Malcolm. 'Tis called the evil ;

A most miraculous work in this good king ;
Which often since my here-remain in England
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
Himself best knows ; but strangely-visited people
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery he cures ;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers ; and 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction."

How commonly angels were perforated for suspension in the time of James I. and Charles I. must be familiar to all collectors, from the difficulty that exists in obtaining a specimen without a hole through it. In later reigns, as those of Charles II., James II., and Anne, angels seem to have been expressly coined to serve as touch-pieces. Similar pieces were also struck by the Pretender,³ who, as James III., was presumed to possess the hereditary healing faculty. All these later touch-pieces bear the legend SOLI DEO GLORIA, which does not occur on any of the angels destined for ordinary circulation. This

¹ See Chambers's "Book of Days," vol. i., p. 83, where many interesting particulars on this subject will be found.

² Macbeth, Act iv., sc. 3.

³ Num. Chron., vol. ii., p. 127.

legend may bear reference to a saying of Queen Elizabeth's, recorded by Fuller: ⁴ "Making her progresse into *Glocestershire*, people affected with this disease did in uncivil crowds presse in upon her. Insomuch that her Majestie, betwixt anger, grief, and compassion, let fall words to this effect, *Alasse poor people, I cannot, I cannot cure you; it is God alone that can doe it!*" She continued, however, the practice of touching for the evil until the day of her death. I am not aware of the nature or frequency of the ceremony of touching, as in use in the time of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., but at later date there was a set form of prayer, which was introduced into several editions of the English Book of Common Prayer.⁵ So common was the practice, that in the first four years after his restoration Charles II. touched nearly 24,000 persons. Friday appears to have been the usual day for the purpose.⁶ Evelyn gives the following account of the ceremony: ⁷—"His Majesty, sitting under his state in the Banqueting House, the chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplain in his formalities says, 'He put his hands upon them, and he healed them.' This is said to every one in particular. When they have been all touched, they come up again in the same order, and the other chaplain kneeling, and having angel gold strung on white ribbon on his arm, delivers them one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the necks of the

⁴ "Church Hist.," Cent. xi., Book ii., sec. 35.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 84. Pepys' Diary, ed. 1848, vol. i., p. 105.

⁶ "Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo III.," p. 214.

⁷ Diary, ed. 1854, vol. i., p. 339.

touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplain repeats, 'That is the true light who came into the world.' Then follows an Epistle (as at first a Gospel), with the Liturgy prayers for the sick, with some alteration; lastly, the blessing; and then the Lord Chamberlain and the Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer, and towel for his Majesty to wash."

The large hole in the touch-pieces, and that by which so many angels of James I. and Charles I. are disfigured, appears to have been necessary for the white ribbon to pass through. Its large size may also be in part due to the punchings having been the perquisite of the puncher, who no doubt was aware of the mathematical fact that their weight would be as the square of the diameter of the hole, so that by doubling the size of the punch he increased his profits to fourfold. In the angels of Henry VIII. now under consideration, the hole is extremely minute, and only adapted for a thread by which possibly it was attached to a ribbon. At a time when severe penalties were enforced against those who clipped or minished the king's coin, we may readily conceive that objections would be felt to punching large holes even through the coins destined to be used as touch-pieces.

Enough, however, has been said on this subject, and I now turn to another feature in the hoard of more purely numismatic interest. This is the comparative abundance of the half-sovereigns with a youthful portrait of a seated monarch, and bearing the name of Henry VIII. Though struck in the name of Henry, I have little doubt of the coins having been minted in the reign of Edward VI., whose portrait, and not that of his father, they seem to bear. The whole figure, indeed, appears to have been produced on the die by means of the same punches as those

used for the well-known, though rare, early half-sovereign of Edward (Pl. viii., fig. 4, Ruding, Pl. vii., No. 3; Snelling, Pl. iii., No. 1). Not only is the face youthful and beardless, and quite unlike that on the undoubted coins of Henry VIII., but the throne on which the monarch is seated is different also. The back of the throne is plain and narrow, and not broad and cross-hatched; its sides are straight, and not curved; it has a recessed top, instead of extending to the inner circle; and the figures at the side are distinctly Victories or Angels, which stand on plainer pedestals than do the corresponding figures on the half-sovereigns of Henry VIII. The whole device, indeed, closely resembles that on the sovereigns of Edward VI. (Ruding, Pl. vii., No. 2; Snelling, Pl. iii., No. 12).

Curiously enough, the mint-marks, and some of the minor details of the coins, appear to be more in accordance with the reign of the son than with that of the father, though any speculations as to the meaning of such marks must, in the absence of direct testimony, be received with some degree of caution.

It will be remembered that on his accession to the throne on January 28, 1547, Edward VI. was but nine years old, and that Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, brother of the late Queen, Jane Seymour, the king's mother, was at once appointed Lord Protector. Before Edward's coronation, on February 20th, Seymour was created Duke of Somerset, and his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, was made Lord Sudely and Admiral of England. This nobleman married, in May, 1547, King Edward's stepmother, Queen Katherine Parr (the only wife of Henry VIII. who survived him, and who, by the way, was twice a widow before she married him), and her brother, the Earl of Essex, was also one of those who was

advanced in rank at the same time as the Seymours, having been made Marquis of Northampton. There was therefore a strong party both of Seymours and Parrs at the head of affairs, and though subsequently there was great jealousy between the wife of the Protector and the Queen Dowager in the matter of precedence, yet in the early part of the reign of Edward, the superior authority of the Queen seems to have been great and undisputed. Under Henry VIII. she had already been appointed Regent during the King's absence in France, and her banner and that of Queen Jane were alone allowed to appear at his funeral, as these two were the only wives whom Henry chose to acknowledge.⁸ Her initial K appeared jointly with the royal H on the gold crowns and half-crowns struck under Henry after his marriage with her; and in the injunction issued at the commencement of his reign by King Edward VI. and the Duke of Somerset, his subjects were commanded to pray first "for Queen Katherine Dowager," and next "for my Lady Mary and my Lady Elizabeth, the King's sisters." Then followed "my Lord Protector's Grace, with all the rest of the King's Majestie's Council."⁹ There can therefore be but little doubt that the K which is conspicuous under the shield of No. 9 is to be regarded as placed there out of compliment to her, and that the monogram HK on the tablets, if rightly so read, represents the initials of Henry and Katherine. On a half-sovereign of this type in my own collection, the letter K occurs not only below the shield, but also as the mint-mark at the commencement of the legend on the reverse; while on a half-sovereign, with identically the same portrait, but bearing

⁸ Strickland's "Queens of England," vol. v., p. 95.

⁹ Fuller, "Church History," ed. 1655, p. 574.

the name of Edward VI. (engraved in Pl. viii., fig. 3) ; also in my collection, the monogram on the tablet is still HK. Curiously enough, I have another half sovereign with the same portrait, but bearing the name of Henry VIII., the reverse of which was struck from the same die. The mint-mark is an arrow.

The mint-mark E, and the \mathfrak{A} below the shield on No. 1, may possibly in like manner refer either to Edward Lord Protector or to King Edward, whose portrait appears on the coin, though associated with the name of Henry VIII. There are, however, silver coins with the portrait of Henry himself, which likewise bear the mark of E., so that the meaning of this letter seems more problematical than that of the K.

Of the other mint-marks, the grappling iron (Pl. viii., fig. 5) reappears on the half-sovereign of Edward VI., with his profile, No. 3. The arrow is found on all his early silver coins, as well as on some of his father's; and the martlet only on those with the name of Henry VIII. I am unable to trace any origin for the mint-mark of the grappling iron, which by some has been termed a pick-lock; but this mark also occurs on coins with the name of Henry VIII.

But whatever may have been the original signification of these marks, the undoubted fact remains that on all these half-sovereigns the portrait is that of a beardless youth, which, though associated with the name of Henry, is quite unlike his bearded, jovial face, and is identically the same as that which, on other coins of the same denomination, is surrounded by the name and titles of Edward VI. We cannot conceive it possible that the moneyers during the reign of the father could have associated his name with the portrait of the son. The coins must therefore have been struck during the reign of

Edward VI., though for some cause his father's name was still retained on the coins. What this reason may have been it is difficult to say. Probably, however, the necessities of the mint prevented any discontinuance of the coinage after the death of King Henry VIII., and therefore until the new King was crowned coins continued to be struck, as appears to have been the usual practice in this country, in the name of his predecessor. Under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., however, the new custom had come in of the portrait on the coins not being, as heretofore, that of a king in general, but of the reigning monarch in particular; and no time appears to have been lost in producing a puncheon by which the portrait of Edward VI. could be placed upon the dies, which was accordingly done, though his father's name and titles were still retained. The variety of coins, however, struck after this fashion seems to point to a considerably longer period than that which elapsed between the death of Henry and the coronation of Edward; and possibly this system of coining in the name of the deceased king may have been continued until after the assembly of the Parliament of the realm. Possibly, also, as Edward, young though he was, took a particular interest in the coinage, and appears always to have contemplated its restoration from the debased condition to which it had been reduced by his father, he may have been anxious that, as an *auspiciū metioris ævi*, the first gold coins bearing his name should be of the improved standard of twenty-two carats fine, to which, in his third year, he reverted, and which has ever since remained the standard of our gold coinage.

Whatever the cause, it is singular that we have in these coins the usual course reversed. On the earliest coins of

Henry VIII., and on those of Charles I., we find the father's portrait and the son's name and titles—the legend on the dies having been more readily altered than the portrait. Here, however, we have the legend preserved, and only the portrait changed. The causes which led both Richard I. and John to continue throughout their whole reigns to strike their short-cross pennies with the name of their father Henry II. were of a different character; but at that time portraiture was unknown upon coins.

The continuance in use of the dies for the reverse of the coinage of one monarch into that of his successor is by no means so rare. I have already called attention to the rare noble of Edward IV. being struck on the reverse from a die of Henry VI.;¹⁰ and the curious crown of Edward VI. has its reverse struck from a die of Henry VIII.¹¹

The fact being established of some of the gold coins of Edward VI. having been struck in his father's name, the question arises whether some of the silver coins bearing the name of Henry VIII. may not also be posthumous, though they do not bear Edward's portrait. On this question I am not at present prepared to enter, but if any silver coins were so struck, those with the novel and, for a base coinage, somewhat inappropriate legend of REDDE CVIQVE QVOD SVVM EST. seem more in accordance with the changeable taste of Edward VI. and his mint-masters than any of the pieces with the more common and ordinary legends.

JOHN EVANS.

¹⁰ Num. Chron., vol. xvi., p. 39.

¹¹ Num. Chron., vol. xx., p. 187, No. 1.

XII.

ARABIC GLASS COINS.

ARABIC GLASS COINS have been greatly neglected by Numismatists of all ages.

Among recent writers, Soret, in his "*Numismatique Musulmane*," dismisses the subject with a single paragraph; whilst, among the earlier writers of this century, Marsden does not give to them, in the "*Numismata Orientalia*," the place they deserve from their exceedingly curious and interesting character; in this respect he would have done well if he had followed Pietraszewski, who gives a very fair account of them, by examples, in his "*Numi Mohammedani*," with many illustrations.

The reason of this neglect is partly the great rarity of glass coins, and partly the opinion expressed by many that they are not coins but weights (of which more presently), which has doubtless dissuaded many Numismatists from entering upon what they thus conceived not to belong to their science.

I have lately had the opportunity of examining the fine collection of these coins at the British Museum, and also a very interesting and valuable one belonging to the Rev. Greville Chester; and I conceived I should be doing a service to Oriental Numismatics if I made known a por-

tion, at least, of the results obtained from the study of these collections.

In the first place, are these impressed discs of glass coins, or weights, or what?

My opinion is that they are coins, used to represent gold or silver coins, as our English bank-notes represent a certain number of sovereigns.

The considerations which support my view are the following:—

(1.) Their form and general appearance is precisely similar to that of coins: they are circular, thin, and flat, so as to be convenient for currency; whereas weights might be, and are, rings, or blocks, of metal, of any shape.

Again (2), glass is an extremely inconvenient material for the purpose of weights; for the bulk of a weight in glass would be nearly four times that of the corresponding weight in copper. And it would be impossible to cast glass weights of exactly the right weight (except by accident) without subsequent adjustment by filing (as is done with copper) or grinding; but this abrasion would be very difficult for Easterns to perform in the case of glass, and absolutely impracticable in the case of discs with inscriptions on both sides, which several have, as it would efface the characters. In short, why should a very inconvenient material be used, when a convenient, cheap, and heavy, metal, copper, was at hand?

But (3) it is clear that the point that would almost settle this question is the weight of each glass disc. This has been ascertained,¹ and seems to me to show decisively that they are not weights.

¹ For this I must express my obligations to Mr. P. Gardner, B.A., Fellow of Christ's, Cambridge, and of the Numismatic Department, British Museum.

The small weights most commonly in use at the time of the issue of these glass coins, were probably the following :—

Weight of a <i>dirhem</i>	.	.	.	45·5	grs.
„ $\frac{1}{2}$ „	.	.	.	22·7	„
„ $\frac{1}{4}$ „	.	.	.	11·8	„
„ double „	.	.	.	91	„
„ a <i>deenâr</i>	.	.	.	65·5	„
„ $\frac{1}{2}$ „	.	.	.	32·7	„
„ $\frac{1}{4}$ „	.	.	.	16·8	„
„ double „	.	.	.	131	„

Now, at first sight, the glass discs would seem to agree almost exactly with these weights. We find the weight 46 grs. eight times (among those described in this paper), and 45 five times, being only half-a-grain wrong. So, too, 22, 23, 11, 12, 90, 91, 92, 65 (which are all found among these glass discs) are sufficiently exact—91 being perfectly so. But 21, 19, 44, 42, 13, 14, 61, 126, 47, 43, are all far too wide of the mark to be admissible as weights.

It would be absurd to weigh with a weight of 19 grs. instead of 16·3 grs., the seller thus losing about 16½ per cent. On the other hand, if the merchant used a weight of 42, instead of 45·5, the buyer thus losing about 8 per cent., the inaccuracy would soon be discovered, and the weight would be rectified; and, as I have said before, in the case of discs with characters on both sides, this would be impossible, unless the edges could be ground, which could only be done when the inscriptions did not extend to the extreme edge.

My view is also supported (4) by the fact that by far the largest number of glass discs issued by any one ruler were issued by the Fâtîmee Khaleefeh El-Mustanşir bi-llâh, in whose reign there occurred a fearful famine of seven years' duration, which, of course, impoverished the

country of the precious metals, and rendered it necessary to substitute for them a cheap material, such as glass. El-Mustanşir even felt himself obliged to distribute from his private property, to dispel the popular alarm, to an incalculable amount.²

Another (5) strong argument for these being coins, is the occurrence on one of them (Fig. 1) of the name of a place, *El-Manşooreeyeh*, which is usual on coins, but would be objectless on a weight.

The reason of the rough approximation of the weights of these glass coins to those of metal coins, is exceedingly obvious.

There was no distinguishing mark by which glass deenars could be identified as such, and shown not to be dirhems; for the material is the same, and (with the exception of a couple which have ميزان دينار, the *equal of a deenár*, upon them) they have not their denomination stated in their inscriptions; so the only way of distinguishing them was by weighing them, and the approximation in weight would at once determine whether the coin in question was a deenár, or a dirhem, or a fraction of either.

I do not consider the hypothesis, entertained by some, that these are charms, as worthy of argument; for very few have any religious sentence upon them, and none has a hole for suspending it—both of which are essential qualifications for a charm.

The central figure in the Plate shows an ordinary copper weight of Cairo; the *Ukceeyeh*, or ounce, weighing nearly 1½ oz. avoird. It was brought from Egypt by my great-uncle, Mr. Lane. The drawing is full size: the five-rayed star

² Price's "Retrospect of Mahommedan History," vol. ii. p. 322.

of Turkey is seen upon it, and also the stamp of Mohamad 'Alee, with the date 45 (*i.e.* 1245 A.H., 1829-30 A.D.) The hole in the middle is for convenience in holding and stowing away.

It has already been stated that these glass coins are in shape similar to metal coins. They are found of all sizes, between one-third of an inch, and one and one-fourth of an inch, speaking roughly. I have been informed that some exist still larger.

They are sometimes cast in high relief; sometimes in relief so slight as to be scarcely legible.

The field containing the inscriptions is often deeply sunk in the glass.

The glass is of all qualities and colours; though in colour green predominates, and in quality they are generally translucent; but sometimes they are, on the one hand, transparent, or, on the other, opaque.

There is no rule observed in colour, such as reserving one colour for *deenars*, another for *dirhems*, &c.

In most cases there are no legends on these coins, but in some there is one; and we meet occasionally with even two.

The inscriptions are generally restricted to one side, but there are several instances of characters on both sides.

The dynasty that struck by far the greater number of existing glass coins is that of the Fátimée Khaleefehs.

I shall now give examples of the glass coins of this dynasty, taking the Khaleefehs in the order of their succession, beginning with the conqueror of Egypt, *El-Mo'izz* (who is the earliest of this line of whom I have seen coins in the collection of the British Museum), and offering such supplementary and explanatory remarks as may seem necessary.

EL-MO'IZZ LI-DEENI-LLÁH ABOO-TEMEEM MA'ADD.

4th Fátímee Khaleefeh. 341—365 A.H.

I.—(Pl. IX.³ fig. 1).

Exterior legend—بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَمْرُهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ مَعْدُ أَبُو تَمِيمِ الْإِمَامِ

Interior legend—المعز لدين الله بالمنصورية

Area—Five dots in form of quincunx. Wt. 61 grs.

i.e.—"In the name of God: 'Abd-Alláh commanded it; The Imám Ma'add Aboo-Temeen El-Mo'izz li-deeni-lláh; at El-Manşooreeyeh."

'*Abd-Alláh* was a son of El-Mo'izz.⁴ *Manşooreeyeh* is mentioned in the *Ḳámoos* as being near *Ḳayrawán*; and, according to M. Quatremère ("Vie de Moëzz," p. 86) was the capital of the Fátímees before the building of El-*Ḳáhíreh*. It existed as a fortress in the time of the celebrated geographer El-Idreese (Jaubert's ed., vol. i. p. 245.)

M. Soret has undoubtedly erred in ignoring El-Manşooreeyeh in *Afreekeeyeh* (Tunis), and attributing all coins with that name to Manşoorah in Lower Egypt, which is never pronounced Manşooreeyeh, and which was founded by El-Melik El-Kámil the nephew of Şaláh-ed-deen (full a century and a half after the time of El-Mo'izz), to commemorate his success over the invading army of Jean de Brienne.

³ All figures referred to in this paper will be found in Pl. IX.

⁴ M. Quatremère, in his "Vie du Khalife Fatimite Moëzz-li-din-allah," says (p. 95), on the authority of El-Makreezee, after giving an account of the Khaleefeh's entry into the newly-built city of El-*Ḳáhíreh* (Cairo), "Par son ordre [*sc. par l'ordre de Moëzz*] on afficha ces mots dans toutes les rues de Fostat: Le plus excellent des hommes, après l'apôtre de Dieu, est Ali, fils d'Abou-Taleb, le prince des croyants (sur qui repose le salut!). On inscrivit partout le nom de Moëzz-li-din-allah, et celui de son fils, l'émir Abd-allah."

(See the "Encyclopædia Britannica;" art. *Egypt*, the modern part of which was written by E. Stanley Poole, and the ancient by R. Stuart Poole.)

This coin has been illustrated by Adler ("Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris," lx.), but he failed in reading it.

EL-HÁKIM BI-AMRI-LLÁH ABOO-'ALEE MANŞOOR.

6th Fátimee Khaleefeh. 386—411.

This was the first Khaleefeh of this line who was born in Egypt; for he was a native of Cairo: whereas his father, El-'Azeez, was born at Mahdeeyeh (in Afreekeeyeh) before the conquest of Egypt by El-Mo'izz.

I. Legend— لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله على
ولي الله

Area— الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين وولي عهده

Wt. 65 grs.

The reverse has characters, but illegible.

The words *wa weleeyu 'ahdiki* (وَوَلِيَّ عَهْدِي) may be translated "and his successor designate," more exactly, "the successor by virtue of his covenant,"⁶ for it was the custom with these Khaleefehs, as with others, to appoint by covenant a successor, who shared, in a certain

⁵ *Abu-l-Fidà's* History, ed. Reiske, vol. ii., p. 591.

⁶ عَهْدٌ, the infinitive noun of عَهَدَ used as a simple substantive, signifies "an injunction, a charge, a bidding, an order, a command," also "a compact, covenant," This is quoted from my uncle's (Mr. Lane's) *Lexicon*, voce عَهْد (a portion as yet unpublished, but, by the kindness of the author, opened to my reference). I have the same eminent authority for the renderings of وليّ عهده.

degree the state and privileges of him who thus designated him.

In the legend is seen the well-known symbol of the Shee'ees, *على ولي الله*, 'Alee is the favourite of God. It will be noticed that a rendering of *ولي* is given in this case different from that in *ولي عهده*: the reason is that *ولي* is one of those wide-ranging Arabic words which can by no means be translated alike in every case, but the meaning of which is regulated by authority.

On the name *El-Hákim bi-amri-lláh*, "the ruler by the command of God," it may be observed that this Kha-leefeh ventured to change it into *El-Hákim bi-amrihi*, thus signifying that he governed not by the command of God but by his own command.

II. *الحاكم بأمر الله أبو على منصور* Wt. 21 grs.

On the reverse the word *الله* is distinguishable. The surname *Aboo-'Alee* was derived from *Edh-Dháhir*. I may here notice what I believe to be an error in Adler's "Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris." He reads and illustrates a glass coin (lviii.) as—

الملك أبو على الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين

whereas it should undoubtedly be *المنصور*, &c.

III. (fig. 2) *الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله وولي عهده* Wt. 92 grs.

IV. *الحاكم بأمر الله* Wt. 46 grs.

There is another example of this inscription, but in less clear and flowing characters, and with a star beneath.

V. *الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين* Wt. 56 grs.
(The rest is illegible.)

VI. الحاكم أبو على Wt. 46 grs.

(The words أبو على are doubtful.)

EDH-DHÁHIR LI-IAZAZI-DEENI-LLÁH ABU-L-HASAN 'ALEE.

7th Fátímee Khaleefeh. 411—427.

I. الظاهر لإعزاز دين الله Wt. 83 grs.

(Another with similar inscription.)

II. الظاهر Wt. 20 grs.

(With a cross between two dots above and below the name).

III. (fig 3), الظاهر Wt. 22 grs.

(With two dots above and two below the name.)

IV. الإمام الظاهر Wt. 91 grs.

(There is another with similar inscription, but in the latter case it might perhaps be read الإمام الحاكم; and on the reverse of the latter there are several dots between two concentric arcs of circles larger than the circumference of the coin.)

V. الإمام الظاهر لإعزاز دين الله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 46 grs.

(With a dot above and below the inscription; the other side not legible. This mode of ornamenting by dots seems characteristic of Edh-Dháhír.)

EL-MUSTANŠIR BI-LLÁH ABOO-TEMEEM MA'ADD.

8th Fátímee Khaleefeh. 427—487.

As has been said before, this Khaleefeh is remarkable for the great number of glass coins pressed into currency during his reign, owing chiefly to the great famine, but

also, in some degree, to the unusually long reign which he enjoyed.

The glass coins of El-Mustanşir are very peculiar, being chiefly of strongly marked types, which differ but little in the various examples.

I. (fig. 4). المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 37 grs.

This is the most remarkable type of all. There are five other examples of it, differing very little *inter se*.

The peculiarity of this type consists in the distinctive ornaments (or Damghahs) at the end of the top line and the beginning of the second. The separation of بالله into two parts, by putting با or لا at the end of the second line and لله or ه at the beginning of the third, is also very remarkable, and is carried out in all the examples I have seen.

Another noteworthy thing in this type is the tall *row*, with its loop high above the two *meems* on each side of it: this is, of course, for the sake of gaining room by getting the loop out of the way. This may also be observed in the next type.

Coins with this type are so striking in appearance that they may be ascribed to El-Mustanşir at a glance.

II. (fig. 5). Legend—الإمام معذ أبو تميم المستنصر بالله

Area—

أمير المؤمنين

Wt. 46 grs.

This, again, is a characteristic type: not on account of any marks, but by reason of the invariable position of the various words composing the inscription.

There are two other examples of this: in these the letters are rather closer together, because the surfaces of the coins are smaller.

III. This type, of which there are three examples, is like the last; except that in the legend بالله is omitted, and in the field المؤمنين is contracted into المؤمن.

IV. معدّ الإمام أبو تميم المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 90 grs.

V. (fig. 6). المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 92 grs.

There are some glass coins of the 'Abbāsee Khaleefeh El-Mustaḍee not unlike the one illustrated by fig. 6. This resemblance has induced an error in Pietraszewski, who reads on a glass coin *El-Mustanṣir bi-amri-lláh*, which, though euphonious enough to the ears of a European Numismatist, would be absolutely unintelligible [to] an Arab. This coin should have been read *El-Mustaḍee bi-amri-lláh*.

Fig. 7 will show the resemblance and the difference, when compared with fig. 6.

VI. المستنصر بالله Wt. 11 grs.
(Three dots beneath.)

VII. الإمام المستنصر Wt. 46 grs.

VIII. المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 90 grs.

IX. (fig. 8). الإمام معدّ Wt. 11 grs.
(There are two others like this.)

This *Ma'add* may have been either El-Mo'izz Ma'add or El-Mustanṣir Ma'add. The latter is the more probable, I think, as his coins are very numerous; whereas of El-Mo'izz I have seen only one.

EL-MUSTA'ALEE BI-LLÁH ABU-L-KÁSİM AḤMAḌ.

9th Fátıme Khaleefeh. 487—495.

I have not seen any coins of El-Musta'alee with anything but *The Imám Aḥmad* upon them.

I. (fig. 9). الإمام أحمد

(Two others like this.)

II. أحمد الإمام Wt. 22 grs.

EL-ÁMİR BI-AḤKÁMI-LLÁH ABOO-'ALEE MAṢṢŪR.

10th Fátıme Khaleefeh. 495—524.

I. (fig. 10). الإمام الأمر Wt. 22 grs.

EL-ḤÁFİḌ LI-DEENI-LLÁH 'ABD-EL-MEJEED.

11th Fátıme Khaleefeh. 524—544.

I. الإمام الحافظ لدين الله أمير المؤمنين Wt. 126 grs.

II. (fig. 11). الحافظ لدين الله أمير Wt. 61 grs.

There is an indication of characters at the top, which might be الإمام or المؤمنين

I hope that I have now shown that Arabic glass coins are as interesting as any other coins in that language. Though they have not so high an historical value as gold and silver coins, on account of their inscriptions being shorter, yet their curious character and great scarcity give them a peculiar interest; and, if my view of their use be correct, they are very remarkable witnesses to the his-

torical fact of the famine in El-Mustanşir's reign, and also to its great extent and severity.

I may be able on some future occasion to communicate some more information on this subject derived from the collection of the British Museum, by that time augmented, I hope, by that of the Rev. Greville Chester.

STANLEY E. LANE POOLE.

Worthing, July 12th, 1872.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5me Série Tome IV. 3me liv., are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*," Supplement (6th article), by M. le Lieut-Colonel P. Mailliet.

In this article, Col. Mailliet returns to the subject of the Gun-money, struck in Ireland under James II., which he treated of on pp. 237—240 of this interesting series of articles, and he replaces several erroneous descriptions by new ones. He tells us that he has been enabled to do this by reading the excellent paper on the above subject by Dr. Aquilla Smith, which appeared in this Chronicle, N.S., Part IV., 1870.

2. "Imitations of Coins of the type of the Gros Tournois," by M. J. Chautard.

M. Chautard, the author of that excellent work, the *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin*, has here undertaken a similar account of the numerous imitations of the *Gros Tournois*. The plan of this work is similar to that of his former one, viz.: a short historical notice of each province, followed by the mention of the principal documents relating to the coinage in question; and lastly, a description of the coins, with the reasons of their attribution.

The Gros Tournois, as we may remind such of our readers who have not given much attention to the study of mediæval numismatics, was the reformed coinage introduced by Saint Louis, to replace the wretched coins of various types, weights, and sizes which were issued by the feudal barons after the dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire. Louis IX. restored to the royal money the privilege of universal circulation, and made his celebrated Grossus Turonensis, or *gros* of Tours, respected throughout Western Europe on account of the purity of its metal and the accuracy of its weight. Hence the innumerable imitations which M. Chautard has undertaken to describe and explain.

3. "Inedited Medals and Jetons, relating to the history of the seventeen ancient provinces of the Low Countries" (2nd article), by M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys.

4. "Notice of the Barneveld Find," by M. J. F. G. Meijer.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. Eltz and M. Hora Siccama to M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are reviews of recent numismatic publications.

The *Berliner Blätter*, Band VI., Part II., Berlin, 1872, contains the following articles :—

1. "Inedited Greek Imperial Coins," by A. von Rauch.
2. "The Coins of Gela," by Dr. Schubring.
3. "The Plonsk find of Coins," by H. Dannenberg.
4. "Note on the Find at Selzen, near Mainz, in 1863, of several thousand *hohlpfennige* of good silver, by C. F. Trachsel.
5. "The arms of the Russian families descended from Rurik," by the Baron v. Koehne.

The part concludes with notices of the newest current coins and medals, and the latest literature.

Of the second of these articles, we would say a few words, as it contains much useful information, put in a clear and intelligible form, concerning the historical classification of the coins of Gela. These Dr. Schubring arranges in three periods, distinguished by the forms more or less archaic of the letters of the legend ΓΕΛΑΣ, ΓΕΛΩΙΟΝ, and ΓΕΛΩΙΟΝ. Gela was founded about B.C. 690, but as the commencement of its coinage cannot be placed earlier than that of Syracuse, Dr. Schubring takes as the first period the time between the years 520 and 460. The second period closes with the capture and sack of the city by the Carthaginians in 405. In 396, Gela was rescued from the Carthaginian dominion by Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse; but the town remained in a depressed condition until the year 338, when it was recolonised by Timoleon, and from this time it enjoyed great prosperity, until its destruction by the Mamertines in 280. This is the close of the third period.

The coins of these three periods are distinguished by the forms of the letters. In the first period, 520—460, we find the round gamma, C; in the second, 460—405, the same letter is formed <, and the O is not yet replaced by Ω; in the third, 396, and 338—280, the ordinary Γ and Ω are in use. Dr. Schubring remarks that the direction of the inscription affords no criterion of the age of the coins, several of the latest period having retrograde legends. Dr. Schubring next treats of the weights of the coins of the several periods, and then of the types. Here we have not space to follow him; but for the convenience of those who may not be able to procure and study the article itself, we give Dr. Schubring's view of the coinage in a tabular form :—

1st Period. 520—460.

Large and Small.	}	A. Half bull. Rev. Quadriga, Biga, Horseman, Horse Æ. Head of young River God. Rev. Bull.
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2nd Period. 460—405.

- Large. \mathcal{R} . Half bull. *Rev.* Quadriga, Biga, Horseman, Horse.
 Small. \mathcal{R} . Head of young River. *Rev.* Bull.
 \mathcal{A} . do. do.
 3 \mathcal{A} . Bull. *Rev.* Wheel with four barleycorns.

3rd Period. 396—280.

- \mathcal{R} . Sosipolis. *Rev.* Half bull.
 Large. \mathcal{R} . Head of young River. *Rev.* (Biga).
 Small. \mathcal{R} . Various.
 \mathcal{A} . All types except those mentioned above.

With respect to the deity Sosipo's, Dr. Schubring remarks that she has nothing in common with the male dæmon of the same name honoured in Elis, and he identifies her with the goddess Persephone. On a remarkable tetradrachm (Mionnet, Suppl. 205), belonging to the first period, she is represented as placing a wreath upon the head of the bull, Gelas, *i.e.* the saving goddess crowning the city of Gela. We cannot agree with Dr. Schubring in his endeavour to connect the type on another tetradrachm (Mion. S. 204), with the bloodless victory obtained by the poet Simonides at the river Gelas over the hostile armies of Hieron of Syracuse and Theron of Agrigentum. Such attempts are generally unsatisfactory, and we cannot make an exception in the present case. The tetradrachm, with the reverse legend $\Gamma\epsilon\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in the neuter singular, and on the obverse the head of the young Gelas, surrounded by three fishes, he ascribes to the period when Dionysius rescued the city from the Carthaginians, *B.C.* 396; the fishes being suggested by the dolphins round the head of Arethusa on the Syracusan money, and indicating Syracusan influence. The types of the reverses of most of these Geloan coins allude to the victories gained by Gelon and Hieron at the Olympic and other games.

What Dr. Schubring has done in this article for the coins of Gela, we should like to see done for all the principal cities of ancient Greece. It would greatly assist collectors to have before them in a similar, tabular form, the historical periods marked off by events such as those which affected the prosperity and the very existence of the city of Gela, side by side with a view of the coinage, with especial reference to palæography.

In the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 3rd year, Jan.—June, 1871, Vienna and Berlin, 1871, are the following articles:—

1. "On the winged representations of Athena and Nike on Coins," by Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer.

2. "Supplementary list of inedited Gold and Silver Coins of Alexander the Great," by the Count Prokesch-Osten.

In this article, M. Müller's system of arrangement is adhered to. M. Prokesch-Osten, however, attempts still more than Müller, viz. : to classify the staters of Alexander according to the ornament on the helmet of the Pallas upon the obverse of these coins, which is sometimes a serpent, sometimes a griffin, and sometimes a sphinx, while occasionally it is without any ornament whatever. He is of opinion that the choice of this ornament was not left to the caprice of the engraver, and that between the ornament and the place of emission there must be a relation which would explain and justify its adoption. Thus much we may grant; but when M. Prokesch-Osten proceeds to attribute those with the serpent to Europe and the parts of Asia in frequent communication with Europe, those with the griffin to Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Syria, and those with the sphinx to Lycia, Pamphylia, and the ports on the Gulf of Issus, it appears to us that, judging from the style, which after all affords the only safe indication for a correct geographical classification, the exceptions are too numerous to allow us to accept any definite rule based on such a minor detail as that above mentioned.

3. "The Earliest Coins of Greek Kings struck in Egypt," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

In this article, Dr. Friedlaender argues that the coins bearing the name of Alexander and his head wearing the elephant's skin, which Eckhel attributes to Alexander of Epirus, and which are now universally acknowledged to be Egyptian, should be attributed to Alexander the Great, and are the earliest Greek coins struck in Egypt.

4. "On three remarkable Coins of the Kings Agrippa I. and II.," by H. C. Reichardt.

5. "Berenike I. and Kleopatra Selene," by Dr. A. von Sallet.

Dr. Sallet doubts the attribution of any coins to Kleopatra Selene, and would give all the coins which have been ascribed to her, to Berenike II., the wife of Ptolemy III., Euergetes.

6. "Fulvia Plautiana," by the same.

7. "Denarius of Vaballathus," by the same.

8. "New forgeries of Roman Coins," by Franz Trau.

Herr Trau here publishes thirty-nine forgeries of Roman coins, of which thirty-four are engraved in four plates that accompany the paper. The article is worthy of the attention of all collectors of Roman coins, if it be only to put them on their guard against this and similar attempts at fraud.

9. "On the Coins of the Indschuides," by Dr. E. von Bergmann.

10. "On two finds of Cufic Coins in Russia," by W. Tiesenhansen.

11. "The Agleier," by Dr. A. Luschin.

12. "On the Mediæval Coins of Hoorn," by H. Dannenberg.

13. "Inedited Thalers," by the same.

14. "A systematic description of the Venetian Coins according to their Types," by C. von Wachter.

15. "Two Medals in commemoration of the Journey to the East of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria," by J. von Bergmann.

The part concludes with Notices of recent Numismatic Literature.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW MEDAL WITH VGONOTTORVM STRAGES.—There has been a considerable discussion going on lately in the papers about the St. Bartholomew massacre; in the course of which, as was natural, the medal struck by order of Gregory XIII. was referred to.

Mr. Blunt, in a letter published in the *Times* on Sept. 13, says that medal "is thus described by one of the first authorities on the subject:—*Obv.*, GREGORIVS XIII. PONT. MAX. ANN. II.; head and shoulders of the pope facing the left. Under the head of the pope the letters 'F. P.' *Rev.* VGONOTTORVM STRAGES, 1572. An angel advancing from the left, and holding in her right hand a drawn sword, and in her left the cross. Before her are five figures, of which two are dead warriors, one a dying warrior, one a man trying to make his escape; in the background a female figure throwing up her hands, apparently to express horror at the scene, and a figure draped as a priest looking on."

This description is tolerably inaccurate. The date on the obverse should be "AN. I."; 1572 was the year of the accession of Gregory XIII.; there seems no good reason for describing the destroying angel as a female; "only *five* figures" are mentioned, though *six* are enumerated (in fact there are *seven*); the "figure draped as a priest looking on" is not, however, on the medal; the "female figure throwing up her hands" can hardly be intended "to express horror at the scene," as *horror* would scarcely be an emotion which a popish artist would desire to convey. The figure is more likely

intended to express *terror*, and possibly may be meant to typify the Protestant Church—if, indeed, Gregory would have acknowledged that there was such a Church.

But it is chiefly with reference to the following remark that this note is written. Mr. Blunt says, “the authority quoted considers that F.P. may mean ‘Fecit Pisanus.’” The “authority,” whoever he may be, is here greatly in error, and this can be shown by various reasons. The first is that the medal was executed more than a hundred and twenty years after the death of Pisanus (Pisano), which took place about 1480. As the mayor of a country town, wishing to give several apologetic reasons why the bells had not been rung on the occasion of a visit by Queen Elizabeth, mentioned as the first that they had no bells, and was told by her Majesty that he need not proceed further, so probably the reader will not require any further proofs that this medal could not have been the work of Pisano. But I must remark that no one who had any acquaintance with that artist's style could possibly have attributed the medal to him.

It was, in fact, executed by Federigo Bonzagna, generally called Federigo di Parma; and the letters F.P., which are to be found on several of his medals, stand for Fredericus Parmensis. He worked for Gregory XIII. and the three preceding popes. The reader who may wish to know more about him can refer to Bolzenthals “*Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der Modernen Medaillen-Arbeit.*”

The medal (*R*) is engraved in *Numismata Pontificum*, Rom. 1690, and also in *Pembr.*, p. 4. l. 34. This last was bought by Curt (Cat. of Sale, No. 364) for £4. 4s., and is probably the specimen now in the British Museum.

T. J. ARNOLD.

LONDON, *Sept.*, 1872.

BRITISH MUSEUM.—We notice that the authorities of the Department of Coins and Medals have lately erected in the Gold Ornament Room a handsome case for the exhibition to the public of a portion of the national collection of coins. This case is divided into thirty-two compartments, each of which is so constructed as to contain a tray of coins, so that any tray may be transferred from its cabinet in the Medal Room and placed under glass for public exhibition. Thus the whole Museum collection will in time be passed through the exhibition case in batches of thirty-two trays, or about 1,500 coins, at a time. A step of this sort has long been called for on the part of the public, who have complained, and doubtless with some show of justice, that the Museum contained treasures unknown

or inaccessible to all but a privileged few. As a matter of policy on the part of the Museum authorities this concession is without doubt a wise one; but we very much doubt whether the public will gain much information from coins exhibited in this way, while to the Numismatist such a method of showing coins is all but useless. The system of heading-cards adopted in the cabinets becomes most confusing when a large number of trays are placed at one time under the eye. What is required to make the exhibition intelligible is a separate label to be placed under each coin, and this, it is needless to say, could not be done in an exhibition which is being shifted at frequent intervals. Another drawback, and one which renders the exhibition practically useless to the Numismatist, is the fact that only one side of a coin is visible. On the whole, we should be inclined to affirm that real coins are not fitting objects for public exhibition, and we should have greatly preferred to see, instead of this coin-case, an extension of the exhibition of electrotypes of coins erected in the same room some years since. Electrotypes possess every qualification necessary for educational purposes; they are exact fac-similes; the obverse and reverse of the coins can be seen side by side at the same time; and, lastly, all the finest coins in the Museum might be exhibited in electrotypes without disarranging the collection by removing them from their places in the cabinets. An exhibition of electrotypes may be so arranged as to give at a *coup d'œil* a complete view of each branch of numismatics. The idea of such an exhibition, which, on a very limited scale, has been already adopted in the Museum, might be amplified to any extent, and as the exhibition would necessarily be a permanent one, explanatory and historical labels might be affixed to each piece. This, as we mentioned before, has already been done in the Museum in the case of a few select Greek coins, accompanied by a printed guide-book, and in a series of Roman gold coins, showing the portraits of the Roman emperors from the time of Augustus to the fall of the Empire; a far more instructive set of pieces than the same number of real coins now on exhibition in this room—all of the same Emperor (Hadrian), and all presenting the same, or nearly the same, obverse two hundred times repeated. Why, therefore, we ask, should not the electrotypes plan be carried out on a larger scale? A complete series of historical English medals would be of high interest if each were accompanied by its appropriate label. The national collection might thus be made doubly serviceable to the general public through electrotypes and explanatory labels, and to the scientific Numismatist by its remaining intact in the Medal Room, and thus accessible for study, which it ceases to be when locked up under glass in a public room.

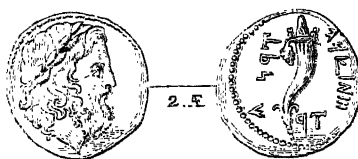
SALE OF COINS AND MEDALS.—The “Chetwynd” collection, celebrated for tokens of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was dispersed by Christie, Manson, and Woods, on 30th July, 1872, and three following days.

The most important pieces sold as under:—*Gold*:—Lot 60. Henry VII. sovereign—£7 15s. Lot 77. Charles I. Oxford treble sovereign—£6 2s. 6d. Lot 85. Cromwell broad, 1656—£5. Lot 101. James II. two-guinea piece, 1687—£6 10s. *Silver*:—Lot 127. Elizabeth portcullis crown and half-crown—£9 2s. 6d. Lot 129. Charles I. Oxford pound, 1648—£5 7s. 6d. Lot 146. Cromwell crown, half-crown, and shilling, 1658—£5 17s. 6d. *Gold*:—Lot 234. Anne five-guinea piece, 1706, after the Union—£10. Lot 239. Anne two-guinea piece, 1709—£5. Lot 265. George II. two-guinea piece, 1753—£7 17s. 6d. Lot 274. George III. *pattern* five-guinea piece, 1770, by Yeo—£25. Lot 275. George III. *pattern* two-guinea piece, 1768, by Yeo—£9 17s. 6d. Lot 372. George III. *pattern* five-sovereign piece, 1820, by Pistrucci—£21. Lot 373. George III. *pattern* two-sovereign piece, 1820, by Pistrucci—£7 2s. 6d. Lot 376. George III. *pattern* crown, 1817; rev. FOEDUS INVIOLABILE—£20. Lot 377. George III. *pattern* halfpenny, 1790, by Droz, inscribed on the edge, RENDER TO CÆSAR, &c.—£21 5s. Lot 391. William IV. *pattern* crown, 1831, with plain edge—£19 10s. Lot 392. William IV. *proof* groat, 1836; *pattern* groat, 1836, with 4—P at the sides of Britannia—£8 8s. Lot 394. Victoria *pattern* five-pound piece, 1839, with the garter—£12. Lot 402. Victoria *proof* Gothic crown, 1847, with plain edge—£35 10s. Lot 409. Medal of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; rev. medallions of the Seven Bishops, 1688—£14. *Tin*:—Lot 426. Charles II. *Reddite* crown, 1663, by Simon, from the Devonshire collection—£11 5s. *Silver*:—Lot 509. George III. *pattern* crown, 1817, INCORRUPTA FIDES, &c.—£5 5s. Lot 511. George III. *pattern* crown, 1820, VIS UNITATE, &c., Hercules; rev. DECUS ET TUTAMEN. Royal arms—£5 5s. Lots 523 to 530. Victoria *pattern* florins, decades, centums—£69 5s. 6d. Lot 531. Cæcilius Lord Baltimore shilling, sixpence, and groat for Maryland, £7 17s. 6d.

The “Jackson” collection was dispersed by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on the 5th August, 1872, and four following days, and realised the undermentioned prices:—

Lot 50. Syracuse medallion or decadrachm; \mathcal{R} , 10; wt. 658½ grs.—£8 2s. 6d. Lot 23. Agathoeles; \mathcal{R} , 7; wt. 259 grs.; usual type—£6. Lot 31. Abdera; \mathcal{R} , 7; wt. 230 grs.; the usual griffin squatting, with the magistrate's name ΜΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΑ in the catalogue, but it should have been read ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΑΜΑΣ—£5 12s. 6d. Lot 32. Ænus; \mathcal{R} , 7; wt.

271 grs.; head of Hermes, full face, with petasus; rev. AINION, goat standing—£7. Lot 40. Alexander III. di-stater; *N*, 5; wt. 264 grs. Head of Minerva; rev. Victory—£8. Lot 49. Philip V.; *R*, 9; wt. 252 grs.; usual type—£8 5s. Lot 57. Mithridates VI., King of Pontus; *R*, 9½; wt. 248 grs.; head to right; rev. Pegasus—£20. Lot 106. Antiochus VI.; *R*, 8½; wt. 255 grs.; radiated head to right; rev. the Dioscuri riding to left; behind TPY (Tryphon) and HΞP=year 168—£10. Lot 136. Hippostratus; *R*, 8; wt. 146 grs.; bust to right; rev. Demeter standing, holding a cornucopiæ—£21. Lot 147. Ptolemy I. pentadrachm; *N*, 6; wt. 274½ grs.; head of the king to right; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ; eagle standing on a fulmen; in the field ΠΑ in monogram—£10 10s. Lot 148. Arsinoe octodrachm; *N*, 7½; wt. 427 grs.; veiled head of the queen to right, with K behind the neck; rev. ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, double cornucopiæ, with pendent grapes, tænia, &c.—£10 15s. Lot 149. Ptolemy II. octodrachm; *N*, 8; wt. 418½ grs.; ΘΕΩΝ, heads of Ptolemy I. and Berenice; rev. ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ, heads of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe—£26. Lot 150. Berenice; *N*, 7; wt. 428½ grs.; veiled head of the queen to right; rev. ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, cornucopiæ, grapes, &c.—£13 13s. Lot 151. Ptolemy V. octodrachm; *N*, 7; wt. 426½ grs.; bust of the king to right; rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, eagle on a fulmen, &c.—£29 15s. Lot 152. Ptolemy VIII.; *N*, 7; wt. 228 grs.; radiated head of the king to right; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, cornucopiæ, tænia, &c.—£24 5s. *Anglo-Saxon and English*. Lot 417. Ecgbearht; bust to right; rev. ECB◇R, monogram of the king's name in the centre. *Hks.* 157—£10 2s. 6d. Lot 431. Harthacnut; bust, with sceptre, to left; rev. +PVLPI. ON. HVNTA, *Huntingdon*—£9 12s. Lot 472. Perkin Warbeck *pattern* for a groat, struck by the order of the Duchess of Burgundy; m.m. lion, DOMINÆ × STLVVΩ × FAC × RÆGEM ×, arms of England crowned, at the sides a fleur-de-lis and rose crowned; rev. same m.m., ΜΑΡΙ × ΤΕΑΚΕΛ × ΠΗΤΡΕΣ × 1494 ×, lion, crown, rose, and fleur-de-lis within a double tressure of four curves—£11. *Gold*:—Lot 489. Richard III. angel, m.m. boar's head—£6. Lot 492. Henry VII. sovereign, or double rial; *Rud.*, pl. iv., n. 4—£17 10s. Lot 495. Henry VIII. George noble, *varied from Snelling and Ruding*—£10 15s. Lot 510. Elizabeth rial; m.m. crescent; *Rud.*, pl. ix., n. 7—£9 7s. 6d. Lot 523. James I. spur rial; m.m. rose; *Rud.*, xii., n. 2—£13. Lot 525. James I. fifteen-shilling piece; m.m. spur-rowel; *Rud.* xii. n. 6—£15 15s. Lot 541. Cromwell *pattern* half-broad, 1658, without "etc." before "pro"—£12 5s.



XIII.

NOTE ON THE LEGEND קרן.

To the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle.

I HAVE read with considerable interest the valuable article of M. F. de Saulcy in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii. p. 65, on the expression, קרן, as signifying "La Puissance" when found on Phœnician coins. Though fully agreeing with the learned writer of this article with regard to the meaning he attaches to that word as employed in Sacred Scriptures by the prophet Jeremiah (xlviii. 25), yet I am entirely at variance with the conclusions at which he arrives.

Not having seen the coin quoted by Gesenius in his "*Scripturæ, linguæque Phœniciaë, monumenta quotquot supersunt*" (Leipz., 1837, p. 275), I cannot affirm that the legend E is correctly read, קרן זר; but from the description of a coin published by M. de Saulcy in this article (p. 67), and from a similar coin in a perfect state of preservation in my own collection, and published by me in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, edited by C. W. Huber and J. Karabacek, Wien, 1870, I am inclined to believe that the Phœnician characters deciphered by Gesenius as

signifying צר, stand in no connection with קר; but are only the last of the three Phœnician characters forming a legend which stands under the cornucopiæ—two letters to the right of the cornucopiæ, קו (which are on my coin קר), and *one* to the left (which on my coin is a <). If I am right in my supposition, that coin, therefore, has no reference whatever to Tyre, and much less to the promontory of Tyre, called at present Ras-el-Abiad.

Now on the coin in my possession, instead of 4—קו, as on M. de Saulcy's specimen, I read clearly and distinctly, <—קד,¹ i.e., קד-ש, signifying "Holy." The legend, קד (קר) on my coin, therefore, refers decidedly to a town, which at the same time is called "The Holy," the term of IEPA, as found on Greek coins. No other town is known in the mother country of the Phœnicians by that name, except the naval port of the Aradians, so that, in consequence, we must assign these coins to the town of Karne of the Aradians.

With regard to the remarks on the Imperial coins bearing the inscription of CORNV PHENICES, I fear that M. de Saulcy's explanation cannot be sustained. By the legend, no doubt, a town is meant under whose authority the coin has been issued, and that town, according to the inscription, belongs to Phœnicia. May CORNU not be a Roman corruption of the Greek name, KAPNOY? and if so, we have on the Imperial coins the veritable name of the town of Karne, which was known by that name up to the time of the Emperor Constantius, who changed it into Constantia (It. Hierokl., p. 582).

HENRY C. REICHARDT.

ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT,
November 22, 1872.

¹ See Taf. i. No. 2, Numis. Zeitsch., 1870.

XIV.

UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF ENGLISH SILVER COINS ISSUED IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

22ND JUNE, 1377—29TH SEPTEMBER, 1399.

No difficulty arises in determining the coinage of Richard II., from the fact that his name is always inscribed upon his coins, and as these, owing to a marked distinction in type and weight, cannot possibly be confused with those issued by Richard III., all likelihood of controversy is at an end. With the exception of Stephen, so simple a method of classification will not apply to the coinage of any preceding English king.

During Richard's reign no alteration occurred in the weight of the money, which continued at the rate of 18 grains to the penny, nor did the type undergo any change worth mention—in short, in portrait, in weight, and in all respects excepting in name, the last style of coinage adopted by his grandfather, Edward III., was repeated. With so simple a subject to discuss, but few remarks are necessary before I proceed to offer to this Society a list of some unnoted varieties of Richard's coins, which, from time to time, have accumulated in my cabinet. They will help to swell the small number already given to this king.

If we except the London halfpence of the common type, and some pence of very inferior workmanship minted at York, the money of Richard II. is rare, and fine cabinet specimens are seldom procurable. His mints, so far as our knowledge extends, were at London, Durham, and York; but at one time it was supposed that he, like Edward III., also coined money at Calais. This supposition was based on a certain half-groat, which once forming part of the Willet collection, was purchased for the British Museum, where it is now to be seen with the following MS. note by the late Mr. Hawkins:—"This imperfect half-groat was Mr. Willet's, he considered it a coin of Richard II., and on his authority collectors supposed that monarch to have struck Calais money. When offered for sale I discovered it to be a half-groat of Henry IV., V., or VI.; but purchased it that collectors might always examine it and be satisfied that such money of Richard II. is still a desideratum. E. H."

If the coin is not altogether a fabrication (it is a very suspicious looking piece), then it is altered from a rosette-masle half-groat of Henry VI. Its weight is only $26\frac{1}{10}$ grains, which of itself, is sufficient to show that it cannot be a genuine coin of Richard II. An engraving of this half-groat can be seen in Ruding, pl. E., No. 6, but nevertheless the authenticity of the coin is not admitted in that work.

The well-known cross patee of the period is, at the present time, the only mint-mark discovered on the coins of Richard II., yet it might be expected that the crown, used by his predecessor, would have been continued. But few other marks are discernible on the silver money of this reign, and these marks, in most instances, are placed upon the breast of the king. At London, coins from the farthing to the groat were issued; but at Durham and

York pennies only were struck, those of Durham being by far the rarest of the series. They are of very neat and uniform appearance, and as they are not noticed in Snelling's work, we may assume that they were unknown a century ago. In type they closely resemble the London money. Of the same good workmanship and uniform appearance is a small portion of the York money; but the majority of the pennies minted at that city were struck from dies very coarsely executed, and much irregularity is displayed in their general appearance, in their weight, and in other particulars, some well preserved specimens barely reaching 15 grains. This marked difference in the design of the pennies struck at York is so obvious that, at first sight, they can readily be separated into two classes. This want of resemblance is not alone confined to the reign of Richard II., since the same broad distinction in the type of the York pennies is, though perhaps in a less degree, perceivable during the reigns of some of his immediate successors. Such dissimilarity in type ought not by right to have existed, for when the grant of issuing money was conferred on any particular city, it was at the same time ordered that a particular type, size, weight, and standard should be adhered to; and it was in order to prevent fraud, and to ascertain whether the directions given were not evaded, that the trials of the Pix at Westminster were instituted. At those trials "pieces taken at random from the whole mass coined at each mint were melted and assayed, and, if found to be of the prescribed weight and fineness, the moneyers, masters, and workers of the mint received their quietus, and were freed from all charges which might hereafter be brought against them."¹

¹ Hawkins, p. 261.

Although it is admitted that the trials of the Pix occurred at irregular periods, still it strikes one as strange that the discreditable system, or rather the want of system, on which the York mint was conducted for many years was allowed to pass unchallenged. In one particular only is any consistency displayed in the type of the pennies issued at York during Richard's time. They appear, all of them, to have what is termed an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse. Mr. Longstaffe asks:—Is there one York penny between the reign of Edward III. and the annulet coinage of Henry V. "which does not bear an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse?"² My collection, I admit, does not contain such a penny. All my York pennies, from the reign of Edward III. to that of Edward IV., have the open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse. This mark occurs, though certainly very rarely, on the coins of Edward I. and II. A London penny of Edward III. in my cabinet has the open quatrefoil on the breast of the king; but I have not seen a London coin with this mark on the reverse. A York penny of mine, struck in the reign of Edward III., not only has the open quatrefoil on the reverse, but also on the King's breast and before the first word of the obverse legend. Mr. Longstaffe suggests that the open quatrefoil on the reverse of the York pennies originated in the handle of St. Peter's key, and the inference he draws from his suggestion is, that all the pennies issued at York which have this mark in the centre of the reverse are probably archiepiscopal. If that class of York penny which so exactly resembles the London style of workmanship is archiepiscopal, then

² Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. p. 196.

it stands to reason, in fact it can hardly be denied, that the dies from which they were struck must—in consequence of that minute resemblance—have been designed and prepared by London workmen. Mr. Hawkins is no doubt right when he remarks, p. 261, “It is probable that in many instances the dies were actually made in London, and transmitted to the various mints where they were used.”

From a careful comparison of English silver coins struck in London and in the country, I have satisfied myself that a somewhat large proportion of those issued from the country mints were actually struck with dies made by London workmen. The very fact that coins with the usual country obverses have likewise, in some instances, the usual London reverses, may be considered as confirmatory evidence in support of the opinion that country dies were at one time in the possession of the officers of the London mint. Is it likely that the die or coining iron for a London reverse would have found its way into the country? Admitting, for the sake of argument, that it did find its way into the country, is it likely, even then, to have been used there for the purpose of striking country coins? Such an event is highly improbable. Far more probable is it that the dies for the country mints were sometimes made in London, and were sometimes used there in mistake for London dies. One thing at least may be taken for granted. In the time of Edward IV. some few groats got into circulation with the customary London reverses; but the obverses of these particular coins have the letters B, C and G on the King's breast, thereby denoting that the obverse dies from which they were struck were intended for Bristol, Coventry, and York.

Whilst on this subject, I may by the way, call attention

to a paper on "Ancient coyning yrons,"³ communicated to this Society in January, 1844. In that paper, the author, Mr. John Field, informs us that, about the beginning of the year 1835, a number⁴ of coining irons were discovered in one of the vaults of the Record Office at Westminster.

Those coining irons were dies for the "silver monies of Edward III. and Henry VII.; viz., groat, half-ditto, and penny, mostly of the York mint." This is a useful piece of evidence; but after all is said, may it not just be possible that those country coins, struck precisely after the London model, were in reality minted at London, and afterwards transmitted to the places for which they were intended. Not only, as before mentioned, are they of better workmanship and design; but they are also more carefully struck and of truer weight than any of the barbarous varieties, none of which bear any similarity to the model adopted at the London mint. Passing over the fact of the difference displayed in the execution of the dies, another question remains for explanation. It is this. If country workmen were capable of regulating the weight and of producing a good impression of a coin when using a die after the London model, why were they unable to do the like when the die used was made in their own city? Although the country dies were very inferior to those which I hold were made in London, yet I do not see, if all the coins were struck by country workmen, why the money coined with one set of dies should not be equally well struck and the weights as nicely adjusted as the money coined from the other set. The manner of cutting

³ Num. Chron., vol. vii. p. 18.


⁴ 64 standards (obverse dies) and 163 trussells (reverse dies).

a die could have little to do with the manner in which an impression was taken from that die; neither would it account for the surprising irregularity noticeable in the weights. In some instances the barbarous York pennies of Richard II. are so defectively struck, that not a letter of the King's name is visible, whilst others are little thicker than wafers, being often three or four grains below the proper standard weight. And these coins, too, are in the state in which they were issued from the mint.

The addition I now make to the published coins of Richard II. still leaves the list of groats and half-groats far from complete. But I increase so considerably the published number of pennies and halfpennies that, at all events, the list of these pieces may now be looked upon as fairly complete.

GROATS.

All struck at the London mint. Those published in Hawkins read RICHARD . DI (or DEI) . GRT . REX . ANGL . Z . FRANCO, or FRANCOI, and have no peculiar marks. The mint-mark is always a cross patee. To these varieties I can add—

1. ANGL ×  × FRANCOI. A mark of contraction over DI, and also over the final N in LONDON. Weight, 69 grs.
2. FRANCO ×. Three small pellets over the king's crown. A mark of contraction after ANGL and FRANCO, and over the final N in LONDON. Weight, 68 grs. (Pl. X., No. 1.)

In Captain Murchison's collection there was a groat reading FRANCOI.

The mark of contraction I frequently notice on the coinage of Richard II. is also in a few instances observable on some of the late money of Edward III.

HALF-GROATS.

From my own cabinet I am unable to add to the published number of these pieces issued by Richard II.; but our national collection contains two slight varieties of type not before noticed.

Those already published read, $\text{RICARD} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGLI} \times$ (Ruding, iv. 3); $\times \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FR}$ (Hawkins, 317); $\times \text{DI} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANCO}$ (Ruding, iv. 2). Those unpublished are:—

1. Mark of contraction after RICARD and over final N in LONDON , and also over V in $\text{M} \times \text{V}$. Reads, $\text{ANGLI} \times$. (Pl. X., No. 2.)
2. Without mark of contraction. Reads, $\text{ANGLI} \times \text{FR}$.

LONDON PENNIES.

Hawkins mentions only two varieties, $\text{RICARD} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{Z} \times \text{FRANCO}$ (Ruding, iv. 4), and $\text{RICARDVS} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGLI}$. Lis on king's breast; pellet at each side of neck (Ruding, Sup., ii. 12). Both coins have the Roman N in LONDON . To these I can add—

1. $\text{RICARD} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANCO}$. Lis on breast; mark of contraction after ANGL ; the letter N in LONDON of the Roman character; cross⁵ before CIVITAS . Weight, $16\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

⁵ In their works on Heraldry, Guillim mentions 39 different crosses; Leigh, 46; Edmonson, 109; and Robson no less than 222. Therefore it may be worth while stating that when I allude to a cross, I simply mean the plain cross, thus, +. The saltire is of this shape, ×. As to the small crosses, or saltires, which divide the words of the legends, stops were simply intended, and it is unreasonable to imagine that any importance can be attached to a slight difference in the shape of these crosses; for I am satisfied none was ever intended.

2. RICHARD \times REX \times ANGLIE \times . Small bust; only mark on obverse a large cross after the legend. Old English R in LONDON. Weight, 18 grs. (Pl. X., No. 4.)
3. RICHARDVS \times REX \times ANGLIE. No marks on obverse; Roman N in LONDON; cross before CIVITAS. Weight, 16 grs.
4. Differs only from No. 3 in having a mark of contraction over the final N in LONDON. (Pl. X., No. 3.)

DURHAM PENNIES.

I have seen five of these rare pieces, but they offer no variation in type from Hawkins, No. 318. Apparently they are from the same die.

YORK PENNIES.

All with an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse. Hawkins describes seven varieties. One reads, RICHARDVS . REX . ANGLIE; another, \times ANGLIE (No. 319); another, ANGLEI (Snelling, ii. 18); another, RICHARD . REX . ANGL . Z . FRAN; and three others, ANGL . Z . FRAN. On one penny with the last reading Hawkins noticed a scallop. To these I can add—

1. RICHARD \times REX \times ANGLIE \times F. No mark on obverse; two crosses after CIVITAS. Weight, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. X., No. 5.)
2. Reads, \times ANGLIE \times L \times . Lis, or cross, on breast, a pellet over each shoulder, in one quarter of reverse, and before EBORACI. Weight, $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
3. \times ANGL \times L \times FRAN. Large head; trefoil (?) on breast; scallop after CIVITAS; two crosses after EBORACI. Weight, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. X., No. 6.)
4. RICHARDVS \times REX \times ANGLIE. Lis on breast; quatrefoil or cross after obverse legend; small pellets at each side of shoulder, before and after CIVI, and before EBORACI. Weight, 17 grs.
5. Similar, but having only a lis (?) on the breast and a trefoil after EBORACI. Weight, 17 grs.
Another, with same obverse, has merely a cross after CIVI. Weight, 16 grs.

The York pennies just described, Nos. 1 to 5, are after the London models. Those to follow, Nos. 6 to 12, range from inferior to what may be called barbarous workmanship, and are distinct from the London types.

6. RICHARD: REX. ANGL: DNS. ED (?). Saltire on breast; scallop (?) after CIVITAS. Weight, $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
7. Another, without the scallop after CIVITAS. Weight, 14 grs. (Pl. X., No. 9.)

Nos. 6 and 7 are of very rude workmanship. The letters ED at the end of the obverse legend were probably intended for hB. The D looks somewhat like a roughly-formed B, and, in truth, may be taken for either letter. Both coins belonged to the Highbury find.

8. RICHARDVS X REX X ANGLIE. Saltire on breast; pellet over each shoulder. No other marks. Comparatively fair work. Weight, $18\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. X., No. 7.)
9. Similar type, but inferior workmanship. A saltire on breast, reads EBORACI. $16\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Others, of barbarous workmanship, with a cross or quatrefoil after CIVI, weigh respectively, $12\frac{1}{2}$ and $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs. These have the E in EBORACI of the proper shape.
10. Same legend, but lis or quatrefoil instead of saltire on breast; cross after CIVI. Comparatively good work. Weight, 18 grs.
11. Same legend. Cross after ANGLIE; lis (?) on breast; pellet over each shoulder; cross before and after CIVI; pellet before EBORACI. (Pl. X., No. 8.)

I have varieties of No. 11, ranging from fair (speaking comparatively) to very inferior workmanship. Some are without the cross after ANGLIE, others are without the cross after CIVI. The weights vary from $15\frac{3}{4}$ to $17\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

12. RICHARDVS X REX X REX X AN. Cross on breast; pellet over each shoulder. Reverse reads, EBO. EBORACI. TAS. Weight, 15 grs.

HALFPENNIES.

All struck at London. Five varieties only appear to be published, viz.—(1) RICHARD : REX . ANGL, Hawkins, No. 320; (2) \times ANGL, Ruding, iv. 6; (3) sometimes a cross on the king's breast; (4) \times ANGLIA, Snelling, ii. 17; and (5) no mint-mark, with crosses between each word.

The halfpence of the usual type are well struck, pretty little coins. They weight as they should do. The words of the legend are sometimes divided with pellets, but far more frequently with crosses (saltires), and the N in LONDON is always of the Old English character. These halfpence are the commonest coins of Richard II.

There are also some unpublished halfpence of this king which, as a rule, are not well struck, and whose designs are inferior to the others. These coins very closely resemble some of the halfpence coined by Henry IV., and are equally rare. I will now describe them:—

1. m.m., cross patee. RICHARD . REX \times ANGLIA. The bust of the king large; the coins carelessly struck. Weights, 8 and $10\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
2. Two small crosses in place of m.m. Legend as No. 1. A small, thick coin. Weight. $10\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
3. m.m. cross patee. Reads, \times ANGLI'. Large head; good work; well struck. Weight, $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
4. Reads ANGL' \times F. Small bust; fair work. Two slight varieties. Each coin weighs $8\frac{2}{3}$ grs. (Pl. X., No. 10.)
5. Slipped trefoil on the king's breast. Very good work. It seems to me the first N in LONDON is Roman, the second Old English; but as the first N is slightly blurred, I will not speak positively. The coin reads ANGL, and weighs $7\frac{3}{4}$ grs. I have a halfpenny of Henry IV. with LONDON.
6. A mark of contraction after RICHARD. Reads ANGL. Both N's in LONDON distinctly of the Roman character. Of great rarity. This is the only halfpenny of Richard II.

that has come under my notice with the Roman N's in LONDON. Weight, $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (Pl. X., No. 11.)

7. Inferior workmanship. Design differs from the other halfpence of Richard. King's head very large. Weight, only 7 grs. (Pl. X., No. 12.)

This coin, and *all* those described, whose weights are unusually heavy or unusually light, are from the Highbury find. The irregularity, both in weights and workmanship, seems peculiar to many of the halfpence from the Highbury find; and I continue to hold the opinion I ventured to express when giving a list of the halfpence of Henry IV. and V. from that find, viz., that the coins were most probably intended for trial or pattern pieces, else, why the unusual number of entirely new types and why the indifference evinced as to weights?

Farthings of Richard II. are rare, but they have the name for being rarer than they actually are. Hawkins only gives two varieties. One, with the usual pellets in each quarter of the reverse, reads, RICARD . REX . ANGL : (see Hawkins, No. 322). A slight variety of this type has lately been shown to me, reading, ANGLIE. Hawkins' No. 321 has a small rose instead of pellets in each quarter of the reserve, and is of extreme rarity. The British Museum specimen, from which the engraving in Hawkins is taken, is very imperfectly struck; but it so happens I have a coin from the same die that makes up for its deficiencies. What is wanting in the Museum specimen is supplied by mine. The coins together make the legend, RICARD . REX . ANGL. A small rose after REX, and probably also after RICARD. Reverse, CIVITAS LONDON. Old English R's in LONDON. Rose in each quarter of reverse. My specimen weighs $5\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

J. FRED. NECK.

UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF SCOTTISH COINS.

No. II.

THE long double-cross pennies of Alexander II. or III. form a most interesting series of Scottish coins. They present great variety of type, and appear to have been minted by many different moneyers in almost every part of the country. Scarcely any collection of them can be examined without finding varieties which are not to be found in any published work.

The general type of the reverse of these coins is well known, though Mr. Lindsay, after correctly describing the difference between stars and mullets in the first note to page 15 of his "View of the Coinage of Scotland," most unaccountably states that "mulletts of six points"¹ are always found in the angles of the cross; whereas, in almost every instance, we find rudely-formed stars, with six irregular points.

Some, however, of these coins struck at Berwick exhibit much neater workmanship, and have the stars round, and regularly shaped, and almost like a closed mullet. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 in the plate illustrate these varieties; No. 3 having the common rudely formed stars; No. 4 the neat

¹ "View of the Coinage," &c., p. 76, No. 110, *et seq.*

regular stars, and No. 5 the perfect mullets. I am indebted to Mr. E. Burns for the opportunity of adding to my collection, with some other rare coins, the singular variety which presents perfectly-formed mullets on the reverse. The following description of this penny may be of interest :—

I. PENNY OF ALEXANDER II. OR III.

Obv.—Crowned head to the left, with sceptre.

ALEXANDÆ REX.

Rev.—Long double cross, with mullets of six points.

ADÆ . O-C . BÆR.

(See Plate XI., No. 5.)

It will be observed that this moneyer is a new one.²

The next penny is a very singular and curious variety.

II. PENNY OF ALEXANDER III.

Obv.—Crowned head to the left, with sceptre.

ALEXANDÆ REX.

Rev.—Long double cross, with stars of six points.

TÆRWI LÆÆR.

(See Plate XI., No. 6.)

The legend on the reverse is remarkable, and the interpretation of it not altogether easy. The following remarks, communicated to me by the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, after an inspection of the coin, are so just and to the point, that I make no hesitation in quoting them, with his permission :—

“The reading which I consider the true one, is WI LANÆR TÆR, the TÆR being equivalent to *tertius*, and is properly the concluding portion of the obverse legend. If this reading be the correct one, and I think it is, it of course assigns the coin to Alexander III.; and what makes this more probably correct is that we have a

² A similar penny, of the same mint, but a different moneyer, is in the collection of the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen.

similar legend in the coins of his contemporary, Henry III. of England, where we find TÆRCI, *tertius*. I think it is the most natural reading we can adopt; but it is proper to consider the claims of other readings also. Suppose we take TÆR as the first part of the reverse legend, and read it TÆRWI LANÆR; we have a new name of a moneyer, and Lanark still as the place of mintage. This does not seem a very improbable rendering, and may prove to be the right one. The name TÆRIRI is found as a moneyer on some of the coins of Henry III., but I cannot remember to have seen anywhere the name 'Terwi,' or 'Terwine.' And the letters WI by themselves, more particularly when followed by an L in the next word, are quite sufficient to indicate 'William,' who, as we already know, was a moneyer at Lanark. If we begin with WI, and take the first two syllables as the name of the moneyer, reading it WILAN or WILAM, we have certainly a very satisfactory moneyer's name; but it seems to me impossible to make anything out of ÆRTÆR as a place of mintage."

In considering the claims of these various readings, I incline towards thinking that if the TÆR forms part of the legend on the obverse (and there is a strong probability that it does) it should be read first, and that the WI LANÆR must be held to stand for the moneyer (William, whose name we already find as a moneyer at Lanark) and the mint. The omission of the usual ON, though not common, is sometimes found (*vide* Wingate, pl. i. fig. 11.; Sup. pl. i. fig. 6; pl. v. figs. 9-13).

The adoption of this reading will have an important bearing on the appropriation of those coins of the same type which do not bear the distinguishing numeral. The other reading suggested by Mr. Pollexfen, TÆRWI LANÆR,

is also a possible one, and the claims of these two legends must be determined by a comparison with other specimens which may still turn up. The notice of this coin may possibly induce those who have collections of early Scottish pennies to see whether any other similar ones still exist.

III. PENNY OF ALEXANDER II. OR III., OF STI LING.

(See Plate XI., No. 7.)

A new variety of the Stirling mint has lately occurred. Pennies of this mint are very uncommon, and are noted both by Lindsay (p. 206) and Wingate (p. 27) at the highest degree of rarity.

Obv.—Crowned head to the left, with sceptre.
ALEXANDER . REX.

Rev.—Four stars, with six points.
hEN . RIO . NS . TR.

(The dots marking the ends of the cross).

Mr. Lindsay, in his second Supplement, gives two specimens of this mint, both by the same moneyer, hENRI. One of these reads STRIVÆ, and is now in Mr. Wingate's collection; the other has the same legend as the one now noticed, but divided in a different way, and with a different portrait. Another variety of the same mint is noticed in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xvi., p. 192, which reads hERI ON STR.

IV. The groats and half-groats of David II. have usually six arcs in the tressure. Occasionally, but very rarely,³ the groats are found with seven arcs; and one half-groat is noted⁴ as having only five arcs. An Edinburgh half-groat with seven arcs, has lately been added to my collection.

³ Wingate, p. 35.

⁴ Lindsay, p. 81, No. 205.

Obv.—Crowned head, with sceptre, as usual. Seven arcs in tressure. Legend, &c., as usual.

Rev.—Cross, with mullets of five points. Edinburgh mint. Legends as usual.

V. Bishop Nicolson, in the chapter on coins⁵ and medals in his "Scottish Historical Library," gives the date 1561, as found on the testoons of Francis and Mary, in which he is followed by Cardonnel.⁶ Francis died on the 4th of December, 1560, and the die for the well-known portrait testoons of Mary of 1561 was made in the early part of that year, so that the number of testoons with the monogram and 1561 must be very limited. Mr. Lindsay (p. 49) had never seen one, though a very fine specimen exists in the Advocates' Library, nor is the date given by Mr. Wingham (p. 97). The specimen described below, though not unpublished, is of such rare occurrence, that it may be of interest to notice it.⁷

Obv. Arms of France and Scotland, crowned, between a cross and a saltire.

FRAN . ET . MA . D . GR . R . FRANCO . SCOTOR . Q.

Rev.—FM in monogram, crowned, between fleur-de-lys and thistle, both crowned.

VICIT . LEO . DE . TRIBV . IVDA . 1561.

VI. HALF-THISTLE DOLLAR OF JAMES VI.

Obv.—The arms of Scotland, crowned.

IACOBVS D SCOTORVM.

Rev.—Thistle, uncrowned, with I . R on each side.

NEMO . ME . IMPVNE . LACESSET . 1580.

Small crown, mm.

(See Plate XI., No. 10.)

This very remarkable coin is from the Wigan collection,

⁵ "Scot. Hist. Library," p. 322.

⁶ Preface, p. 15.

⁷ Another specimen is in the cabinet of the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen.

and must not be confounded with the thistle noble of 1581 (Lindsay, pl. x, 206), which has the thistle crowned; or with the half thistle noble of the same date (Lind. pl. x., 207), which, though about the same diameter, weighs only $88\frac{1}{2}$ grs., while this half thistle dollar weighs 164 grs., though only, unfortunately, in poor preservation. I only know of one other specimen,⁸ and that is in the Advocates' Library, and it weighs, in fine condition, $169\frac{1}{2}$ grains. It is mentioned in Lindsay's Supplement (p. 18, No. 172), but is there erroneously called the thistle dollar, a mistake afterwards corrected in the errata to the second Supplement (p. 44).

The acts of July 28, 1578, and 11th November, 1579, order the coinage of pieces answering exactly to the thistle dollars, though Mr. Lindsay (p. 57), confusing the French weights (then used in Scotland) with the English, cannot reconcile the weights with the acts. These statutes authorise the half also to be coined, and I have no doubt but that this coin and the one in the Advocates' Library are the halves of the thistle dollar struck under these acts. The appearance of this coin corresponds exactly with that of the dollars of 1578-9, and differs entirely from the coins of 1581. It has the thistle uncrowned, a small crown as a mint-mark, and is a very thick coin for its size. In all these respects it differs from the later coinages, and agrees with the earlier. A great deal of confusion arises from the difficulty of finding proper names for the various classes of coins. Thus, for example, at p. 279, Mr. Lindsay calls the coin of 1579 (which weighs generally about 340 grains) a dollar, and gives the same name to the coin of 1581 (which never exceeds 175

⁸ One is noted in the Ferguson sale, lot 202.

grains). The act calls the larger coin a two-merk piece; and it is difficult to see why this name (which also expresses the value) was not retained. This, with its rare half now described, would thus form one series; and the coins of 1581,⁹ with the crowned thistle and cross mint-mark, another series representing the merk of 1581; $\frac{1}{2}$ merk (or noble); $\frac{1}{4}$ merk and $\frac{1}{8}$ merk, or the double (silver) noble; noble; $\frac{1}{2}$ noble and $\frac{1}{4}$ noble. The addition of the date would sufficiently distinguish them from the merks of 1601-2-3.

The following coins figured in the accompanying plate, (Pl. XI.), were described in a¹⁰ preceding note:—No. 1, the penny of Alex. II. or III. of the second coinage and Roxburgh Mint; No. 2, a penny of Alex. II. or III. of the second coinage with an unusual form of crown; No. 8, a penny of John Baliol; No. 9, a halfpenny of David II.; No. 11, half plack of James VI.

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

⁹ Lindsay, pl. 10, 206*, 207, 207*, 208.

¹⁰ Num. Chron., vol. xi. p. 283.

XVI.

NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE SCOTTISH COINAGE.

No. III.

THE correct appropriation of the coins of the James's is one of the most difficult problems in Scottish Numismatics.

Almost every writer on the subject has given a different arrangement. The views of Archbishop Sharp¹—the first writer on the coins of Scotland—were, for the most part, adopted by Bishop [Nicolson,² who assigns to James I. all the fleur-de-lis groats; and to James IV. all the gold riders. Anderson³ considers the groats with the arched crown to have been struck by James II.; and does not think any of the gold lozenge lions belong to James I. Snelling⁴ gives the crown groats to James I. as his second coinage. Cardonnel⁵ thinks they were the only coinage of James II. Pinkerton⁶ appropriates the groats with bushy hair to James III. Cummyng⁷ correctly considers

¹ "Bib. Ty. Brit.," No. 35.

² "Scottish Hist. Library," p. 312.

³ "Dip. Scot. Thes.," pl. clx.

⁴ "View of the Silver Coinage of Scotland," p. 9 (Lond., 1774).

⁵ "Numis. Scot.," p. 73.

⁶ "Essay on Medals," vol. ii. p. 446.

⁷ "Arch. Scot.," vol. i. p. 200.

the groats with arched crowns to be the coinage of James IV. Lindsay⁸ assigns nearly all the gold lozenge lions to James I; and Wingate⁹ gives a new coinage to James IV.

It is not difficult to account for this uncertainty. Five monarchs, bearing the same name and style, reigned in succession between 1406 and 1542. Three of these never used a distinguishing numeral on their coins, and the fourth only occasionally; nor are any dates found before 1539.¹⁰ The times in which they lived were characterized by continual internal dissensions and constant changes in the government, so that we have no certainty that the public acts, authorising particular coinages, and giving general directions as to weights, fineness, and value, were strictly carried out; while the greater portion of the more particular minutes and accounts, which would have enabled us to identify the coinages that were actually issued, cannot now be found.

Another thing which has contributed very materially to the prevalence of error in the classification of these coins, is the disinclination to leave an uncertain type unappropriated till further evidence can be produced. The most slender, and very often insufficient, grounds are seized on to make appropriations which more exact knowledge proves to be erroneous.

Though it is greatly to be regretted that so few of the original documents relating to the coinage have been preserved, yet even those which are still extant have not

⁸ "View of the Coinage of Scotland," p. 160.

⁹ "Illustrations of Scottish Coinage," p. 78.

¹⁰ There is not sufficient evidence to warrant us considering the XC. on the unicorns of James IV. as representing the date 1490. *Vide* Num. Chron., 1870, p. 242.

hitherto been made use of. A careful search lately made¹¹ in the Historical Department of the Register House at Edinburgh has resulted in the finding of a tolerably complete and exceedingly interesting series of the accounts of the moneyers during the reigns of James II. and his successor. The last volume of the printed Chamberlain Rolls contains the first of these; the remaining ones are now for the first time noticed.

I have already alluded, at the close of last paper, to the effect which Robert Gray's account had on the appropriation of part of the gold lozenge lions (or demies, as they are usually called in the rolls) to James I. Prior to the appearance of Mr. Lindsay's "View of the Scottish Coinage," these coins were always considered to belong to James II. The discovery of this moneyer's account, however, rendered it highly probable that a small proportion of this coinage had struck before the murder of James I. But Mr. Lindsay lays down a rule¹² for the separation of the coins of these two kings, which is purely arbitrary, and unsupported by any evidence; and which has the practical effect of transferring almost all the demies—at least all without annulets—to James I. This arrangement has always proved unsatisfactory,¹³ and the documents lately brought to light show that it is not supported by facts; and that the great majority of these coins, of which the coinages are recorded, were struck in the early part of the reign of James II. Assuming Mr. Lindsay's statement that the demies were not struck before 1436 (though he admits a probability of their being coined in 1434¹⁴), we find that a small part of the

¹¹ 1872.

¹² P. 132.

¹³ Lindsay's First Supp., p. 20.

¹⁴ P. 131.

18 lbs. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of gold which is recorded to have been struck between the middle of September, 1436, and Christmas eve, 1437, certainly belongs to the reign of James I. (which closed on the 20th February, 1436, o. s.): but that more than 50 lbs. weight,¹⁵ inclusive of any portion of the 18 lbs. mentioned above, was coined into demies between Christmas eve, 1437, and July, 1450.

As far, therefore, as the evidence goes, in the meantime the demies must be considered as belonging both to James I. and James II.; but the rule by which at present these coins are divided between the two reigns cannot be maintained.

Any other points of interest which occur in the MS. Rolls will be noticed under the years to which they belong.

1438. In July, 1438, a trial of the Pix is recorded in the Chamberlain Rolls¹⁶ as having taken place at Edinburgh, in which all the coinage struck by Robert Gray, both in the previous and the present reign, was carefully tested in the presence of various commissioners, specially named for the purpose, and found to be true and good. Thomas de Cranston was then the warden of the mint.

1441. This year, on the 2nd September, Robert Gray rendered an account¹⁷ at Stirling, of all the bullion coined by him from 23rd June, 1440, to the date of the account. From this, it appears that 1 lb. 8 ozs. of gold was coined into demies ("*in dimidiis*") at Edinburgh; 26 lbs. 11 ozs. (troy) of silver into groats, and 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of silver into pence and halfpence. The duty payable to the king was 16s. for each pound of gold, 5s. 4d. for each lb. of silver coined into groats, and 5s. for each lb. coined into pence and half-

¹⁵ MS. Rolls in Register House at Edinburgh.

¹⁶ Cham. Rolls, vol. iii. p. 398.

¹⁷ MSS. General Register House, Edin., Roll 194.

pence. It will be observed that half-groats are not mentioned. Mr. Lindsay has alluded¹⁸ to the amount of silver minted into pence and halfpence, mentioned in the account of 1436—38; and another considerable coinage of these smailer coins is also recorded in this account. Between December 25, 1437, and July, 1443, 89 lbs of silver were struck into pence and halfpence at the Edinburgh mint alone; and it certainly seems surprising that so few of the coins should have come down to us.

Some other curious particulars are given in this account. It is expressly stated that the lb. of gold¹⁹ contained 16 ozs.; and the same provision occurs in all the moneyers' accounts of this period.

The fee to be paid to the warden of the mint is one penny for every 12 ozs. of either gold or silver struck: and the same sum is given to the graver of the irons. The mint seems to have been in the house of one John Swift, as 53s. 4d. is allowed to him for the rent of it.

1442. The account²⁰ this year was rendered at Stirling by John de Dalrymple for Robert Gray on the 17th July, and embraces the coinages from September, 1441. During the year it appears that 1 lb. 14 ozs. of gold was coined (*in dimidiis*), and 29 lbs. 8 ozs. of silver into groats; and 10 lbs. into pence and halfpence. The duties and fees noted are similar to those in the preceding account.

1443. Almost exactly a year later, John de Dalrymple again appears at Stirling on the 19th July, and accounts²¹ for 5 lbs. 6 ozs. of gold coined into demies; 27 lbs. 8 ozs. of

¹⁸ P. 174.

¹⁹ It will be seen from later accounts that the pound of silver also contained sixteen ounces.

²⁰ MSS., Roll 195.

²¹ MSS., Roll 195.

silver, into groats, and 14 lbs of silver into pence and halfpence, during the past year.

The same year another account²² is given in at Stirling, which is of considerable interest. It was rendered by Alex. Tod, on the 26th July, and contains an account of all his receipts and expenses from the date of his entry into the office. It appears that he was constituted moneyer of the king in the town of Stirling on the 18th November, 1442; and from that date to the time of giving in his account, he struck one ounce of gold into demies, 18 lbs. 15 ozs. of silver into groats, and 18 lbs. 12 ozs. of silver into pence and halfpence. We know, from the crown groats of the second coinage, that mints²³ were established in this reign in Aberdeen, Perth, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling; but no records of any of them have as yet been discovered. This account shows that the rare fleur-de-lis groats of Stirling were struck during the reign of James II. The coinage of gold is very limited, and is an exception to the general statement that the gold coinage was struck at Edinburgh. The duties and expenses of the Stirling mint appear to have been the same as those of Edinburgh. John de Levingston is named as warden; and Robert Hakate receives 6s. 8d. as the rent of his house, which was used as the mint.

1444. In the following year we again find records²⁴ both of the Edinburgh and Stirling mints. Robert Gray's account is rendered, in his absence, by John de Dalrymple, on the 23rd June; and, like the preceding ones, contains almost a year's coinage, during which 21 ozs. of gold were

²² MSS., Roll 196.

²³ Lindsay, p. 92, Nos. 350—360; p. 93, No. 361; Wingate, p. 67.

²⁴ MSS., Roll 197.

struck into demies, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of silver into groats; but no smaller money appears to have been struck at Edinburgh. This is probably accounted for by Alex. Tod's coinages at Stirling during the same period, which are entirely in the smaller coins, as appears by his statement given in on the 14th July, 1444, in which he accounts for the gain from 16 lbs. of silver made into pennies, and makes oath that no silver has been coined into groats, nor any gold whatever, during the time specified in the account.

1447. The annual rendering of the moneyer's accounts seems to have been omitted for a year or two, for the next account²⁵ discovered is dated July, 1447, and contains the gains and expenses of the Edinburgh mint from the 18th September, 1444. During that time seven pounds of gold were minted into demies, and 92 lbs. 4 ozs. into groats. No coinage into small money is recorded. A memorandum is attached to this account, stating that Robert Gray does not wish to render any account of the 1 lb. and 1 oz. of gold, and 26 lbs. 5 ozs. of silver which John de Dalrymple gave to Alexander de Narn.

1448. On the 7th September, 1448, John de Dalrymple, jun., renders the account²⁶ of Robert Gray, at Stirling, showing a coinage of 4 lbs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of gold, at Edinburgh, coined into demies, and 78 lbs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of silver into groats during the preceding year.

1449. The following year we find the first parliamentary enactment²⁷ on the subject of money during the reign of James II. It was passed at Edinburgh in the month of January, and refers to an "act" made some time before by four-and-twenty commissioners specially appointed for

²⁵ MSS., Roll 203.

²⁶ MSS., Roll 205.

²⁷ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 36; Car. App. p. 10.

the purpose of looking into the regulations for the supply of bullion, and of considering the "new straik" to be made. Unfortunately, no trace of this "act" can now be discovered, though in all probability it did not take effect till 1451, as we find Robert Gray's last account rendered in 1450, with the usual charges and duties; while in 1452 new moneyers and new duties will be found. This act of 1449 also contains the important provision that no one in time to come shall strike money, unless they have the authority of the king under the great seal. A search has been made to see if any commissions to moneyers are preserved in the Reg. Mag. Sig., or in the Privy Seal; but none have as yet been found.

1450. On the 21st July of this year Robert Gray and John de Dalrymple for the last time render their account²⁸ at Edinburgh of the gains and expenses of 1 lb. 14 ozs. of gold coined into demies, and 54 lbs. 2 ozs. of silver made into groats, between 7th September, 1448, and the date of the rendering.

In all these accounts the "gain to the king" is at the same rate, viz.: 16s. for each pound of gold (each pound containing 16 ozs.); 5s. 4d. for each pound of silver when coined into groats; and 5s. when coined into small money; but it will be observed that immediately after the passing of the act of 1451 the rate is considerably lower in the silver coinage.

1451. Mr. Lindsay considers²⁹ the act of 1451 one of the fullest and most important we have relative to the Scottish coinage; and it is certainly the longest we have as yet met with. I have already stated that there is a probability that the "Act" made by the four-and-twenty persons

alluded to in the parliament of 1449, did not take effect till after it was authorised by the parliament which was held at Stirling on the 25th October 1451;³⁰ but this is not certain. The enactments now to be noticed are headed in the original record:—"The avisement of the Deputies of the thre Estatis, tuiching the mater of the money, &c.," and apparently occupy the whole session. It will not be necessary to enter into the details of this act as its provisions are given by Lindsay³¹ and a part of the act in full in Cardonnel's Appendix.³² It provides for a new coinage of groats (at eight to the ounce) with half-groats, pence, halfpence, and farthings in proportion. It settles the course of the old coinage and orders a new gold piece, to be called a lion, and to be equal in weight to the half English noble. The values of various foreign coins are also set forth.

A careful perusal of this act raises several very curious points. No mention is made in the accounts we have just examined of the coinage of half-groats. The groats here called the sixpenny groats are generally considered³³ to be the groats with the fleur-de-lis of which no half has ever yet been discovered. And yet "the half-grote that now rȳnis" is more than once mentioned.

The pennies minted by the king's moneyers are allowed to have course till the new ones are issued. Among the moneyers who are mentioned we recognise Robert Gray, John de Dalrymple, sen. and jun., and Alex. Tod. The "John Spethy," whose name does not occur in the Rolls, was probably moneyer at some of the other mints, of which, though the coins are preserved, the records are now lost.

It is also provided that trusty men should immediately

³⁰ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

³² P. 10 Appendix.

³¹ Pp. 28, 133.

³³ Lindsay, p. 28.

be sent to collect all the old coining-irons and also the letters of graving from the gravers, and these were to be destroyed in presence of the king and his council, and new ones given out within the mint. The act closes with some sensible provisions for the payment of obligations incurred during the time of the course of the old moneys. Balfour, in his "Annals,"³⁴ says that in this parliament the king raised his money from 5s. the ounce to 8s., and the gold from £3 to £4 19s.

1452. In the next parliament,³⁵ held at Edinburgh the 26th of August, 1452, an act was passed ordering the English penny to have course for three Scottish ones until the next meeting of parliament.

1453. The following year a new moneyer, John Laundale, renders an account³⁶ at Stirling on the 19th June of his gains and expenses since 17th of May, 1452. No coinage of gold is recorded, but 338lbs. 12 ozs. of silver were minted into groats and pennies. An important difference occurs in the seignorage, which is now stated to be 2s. 8d. per lb. instead of the 5s. 4d. formerly invariably found in the accounts. Though no gold is accounted for by Laundale, it is evident that some must have been coined,³⁷ for in a memorandum it is stated that the Auditors of the Exchequer delivered to Alex. Naper, Provost of Edinburgh, on the day preceding the rendering of the account "vij assais of gold, xxxiiij grotis of xij^d grotis and j^d in a lokfast box quhilk was of the assais of silver and of gold syn the xvij day of Maie the year m^o cccclii." This and the following gold coinages were probably the lions ordered

³⁴ I. 180.

³⁵ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 41.

³⁶ MSS., Roll 216.

³⁷ It is to be observed that we cannot consider that these accounts record all the coinages which took place.

by the act of 1451, though the denomination of the coin is not stated.

About this period a great amount of forged money seems to have been current. Certain false coiners are mentioned in the act of 1451, and the towns where they carried on their operations are specified. In 1455 another act³⁸ passed, to hold good for three years, ordering that whoever arrests a false coiner shall have ten pounds from the king besides the escheat of him that is forfeited.

A parliament³⁹ was held at Edinburgh in October, 1456, in which several provisions about the money were enacted. The new groat in particular was ordered to pass for 12*d.*, notwithstanding that the act of 1451 fixed it at 8*d.*; and it is forbidden, on pain of death for any coiner to strike either demies or sixpenny groats.

1457. The following year certain lords were nominated by parliament in the month of March⁴⁰ to convene in the next place where the "chekkar" may be held, to commune upon the matter of the money, and in the meantime it is ordered that the striking of money cease until other provision be made for it. Immediately after this we find Alex. Tod giving in his account⁴¹ at Linlithgow, of all the money coined by him from 15th November, 1456. He accounts for 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. of gold, and 201 $\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of silver. As it is not stated to have been struck at Stirling, and as Robert Gray's name does not appear again, possibly Tod may have been transferred to the metropolitan mint. A curious provision may be noticed occurring in this account. After giving the number of the ounces of silver, the record proceeds "*centinario continente sexcies viginti.*"

³⁸ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 43.

³⁹ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 46; Car. App., p. 13, c. 58.

⁴⁰ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 48.

⁴¹ MSS., Roll 226.

1459. At Perth, on the 20th of July, 1459, the same moneyer gave in his account⁴² of the coinages from August of the preceding year. Four ounces of gold are accounted for, 270 lbs. of silver were struck into groats, and 204 lbs. 12 ozs. of silver into small money ("*in minuta pecunia.*")

No other notice relating to the coinage is found in the reign of James II. The bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460 put a sudden and unexpected close to the life of a prince who had done much to correct the abuses under which the country suffered.

1464. Five years elapse before we find any notice relating to the money. In June, 1464, Alex. Tod accounts⁴³ for the coinage of 12 lbs. 2½ ozs. of gold, but the denomination of the coin is not stated. As will be afterwards seen, we find a mention of gold coined in this reign "*in scutis.*" As both "*Rydaris*" and "*unicarnys*" are also specially named in subsequent accounts, it is difficult to say what coinage is recorded here. A similar difficulty occurs with the silver coinage in this account. Three hundred and eighty-five pounds, fourteen ounces of silver are struck "*in grossis duodecim denariorum et sex denariorum,*" for which the seignorage is stated to be 2*d.*, the ounce,⁴⁴ thus showing the pound of silver to contain 16 ozs.

The account of 1476 contains a mention of "new groats," which were, in all probability, those ordered by the act of 1475, twelve of which were to be coined out of the ounce. As the act of 1456 forbids, on pain of death, any future coinages of the sixpenny groats (of the fleur-de-lys type), the groats here mentioned were probably the crown groat, and its half, still current at the rate of 12*d.*

⁴² MSS., Roll 280.

⁴³ MSS., Roll 252.

⁴⁴ The duty on silver is elsewhere given at 2*s.* 8*d.* the lb.

appointed by the act of 1456. It has not hitherto been supposed that these crown groats of eight to the ounce were minted by James III., but this account seems to render it probable that this was the case; and if so, it affords another example of the type of one reign occurring at the commencement of the succeeding one.

The coinage of small money given in this account is also very considerable, 94 lbs. 4 ozs. being struck into pence and halfpence. The seignorage on these is fixed at 1s. 4*d.* per pound, or half only of that payable for the groats and half-groats.

In the minutes of the parliament of 1464-5 ⁴⁵ certain provisions are made for bringing in bullion, and 4s. 9*d.* per ounce is fixed as the price to be paid to exporters of wool, &c., who were obliged to bring a certain amount of bullion to the mint. The "lew" is proclaimed to 14s. 4*d.*, and searchers are appointed at each port to see that none take out of the realm more money than is necessary for their expenses.

1465. In July of this year, Alex. Tod rendered his account ⁴⁶ from 14th of June, 1464, to the present date at Edinburgh. This account differs only in the quantities from that last noticed. Four pounds, six and three-quarter ounces of gold were struck; 69 lbs. 13 ozs. of silver into 12*d.* and 6*d.* groats, and 66 lbs. 12½ ozs. of silver into pence and halfpence.

1466. The next acts about the money were passed by the parliament ⁴⁷ assembled at Edinburgh in October, 1466. In the first a penalty of £10 is imposed on any who shall take money out of the kingdom, and the forfeiture of the money

⁴⁵ MSS. Register House, Edin. (not printed in the folio ed. of the Acts).

⁴⁶ MSS., Roll 254.

⁴⁷ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 86, c. 10, 11, 12; Car. App., p. 13.

besides. Provision is also made for the trial and punishment of any "clerkis" who may be guilty of this offence. The second provides that the exporters of wool or hides out of the kingdom shall receive for every ounce of silver 4s. 7d.; but that the exporter shall bring two ounces for every "sek" taken out of the country. The last act provides for the coining of copper money, which is to go at the rate of four to the penny; a coinage of which no specimen has as yet been discovered. Three thousand pounds are ordered of this coinage, and the rest of the money, both gold and silver, is to pass at the current rate except the new groat of Edward of England's coinage⁴⁸ which should pass for ten pence; and the new English rose noble, which is to pass for twenty-five shillings, and the lords appointed by parliament are to have power to make what rules they may deem proper about the 6d. groat of the fleur-de-lis.

The moneyer's account⁴⁹ from the 3rd of July, 1465, to the 18th of June, 1466, rendered at Linlithgow by Alex. Tod, shows a coinage of 17 ozs. of gold; 10 lbs. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. of silver in groats, and 121 lbs. 13 oz. in small pennies and halfpence. The duties, &c., are similar to the former accounts. In reference to the expression now found in the accounts "*in minutis denariis*," there is a statement in Pinkerton's "Annals⁵⁰ of Scotland," that the penny was so diminished in this reign that it could not be cut into halves and quarters for small change, so billon farthings were introduced. This may refer to the copper money of four to the penny authorised by the act of 1466. Black money (*cona nigre monete*) is for the first time mentioned

⁴⁸ The groats of Edw. IV. coinage, after his fourth year, weigh only 48 grains (Hawkins, 112).

⁴⁹ MSS., Roll 254.

⁵⁰ Vol. i. p. 257.

in this account. No quantity is specified (or the sort of coin), but it is stated to have been made by an agreement entered into between the king (with the consent of the council) and the moneyers. This agreement may still be discovered.

1467. In June, 1467, George Grinlaw, warden of the mint, renders the account⁵¹ of Alex. Tod, at Perth, for the year from June, 1466. Twenty-three and a quarter ounces of gold were struck : 9 lbs. 3 ozs. of silver into groats, and 53 lbs. 15 ozs. into small pennies. No change occurs in the other provisions.

In October a parliament⁵² assembled at Edinburgh, and certain lords were appointed to prepare the Articles, and to look to the matter of money. More especially, they were deputed to determine how many English, how many Scottish, and how many black pennies were to be taken in the pound, and to fix the values of the English pennies and of the groat of the crown. The result of this commission is embodied apparently in the act of 1467, which fixes the values of all the various coins, foreign and native, which were then commonly current. All are raised except the white Scottish penny and half-penny, which are to have course as they used to have. The black pennies are to cease being issued ; and as loss and annoyance have been caused throughout the kingdom by the continual change in the value of money, it is further enacted that payment of debts, contracts, &c., entered into before the passing of this act, are to be made of the same value as the money was before the act passed ; and thus all obligations made in the past which contain payments to be made in the usual money of

⁵¹ MSS., Roll 258.

⁵² " Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 88.

Scotland, shall be paid as the money had course at the time of the passing of this act.

In January of the same year a parliament⁵³ was convened at Stirling, and acts were passed, raising the groat of the crown to fourteen pence, and the half to seven pence; the same values which were fixed by the act of the preceding year. The old English penny is fixed at 4*d.* and the new penny of Edward IV. at 3*d.* The white Scottish penny is to have course till the next parliament. Lindsay⁵⁴ erroneously attributes to this parliament an act which was not passed till the following year.

1468. In the parliament⁵⁵ of 1468 which assembled at Edinburgh, fourteen commissioners, chosen from the prelates, the barons, and the commissioners of boroughs, were appointed for the Articles and the money. They recommended certain provisions which are embodied in an act of the same year. The act is given, but not with accuracy, in Cardonnel's Appendix: and Lindsay makes two shillings' worth of farthings, instead of three, go to the pound. This act is interesting as giving a list of the "Scottis money, that is to say, the demy, the lyone,⁵⁶ the grot of the croune and the grot of the flour de lice, and the small pēny and the fardyng." And all these are to go at the rate they went at before October, 1467.

At Edinburgh, on the 22nd of June, Alex. Tod and William Goldsmith rendered their statements⁵⁷ from the

⁵³ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 89; Balfour "An.," vol. i. p. 194. Cardon. App., p. 15 (where he says it was raised from twelve pence).

⁵⁴ P. 31.

⁵⁵ "Scots Acts, vol. ii. p. 92; Cardon. App. p. 16.

⁵⁶ It would appear that the gold coins now commonly called St. Andrews, were all formerly known as "lions," or Scottish crowns.

⁵⁷ MSS., Roll 260.

2nd of June, 1467, and account for 2 lbs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of gold and 83 lbs. $13\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of silver coined into groats. From a memorandum in this account it would appear that the black money had been reduced in value, as a sum of £45 is allowed the moneyers to make up the loss. The reduction seems to have been one-half, as it is stated that at the commencement of the coinage the coin was to pass for one halfpenny, but afterwards it was reduced to a farthing. The act of October, 1467, it will be remembered, ordered the coinage of the black money to cease.

1469. In the parliament⁵⁸ of this year, certain provisions were made against bringing in any foreign black money into the country. This act is omitted by Mr. Lindsay, though it is given correctly in Cardonnel's Appendix.⁵⁹

A commission was again issued to certain prelates, barons, and commoners to consider concerning the importation of bullion, the keeping money in the realm, and the course it is to have.

1471. From the act⁶⁰ of May, 1471, it would appear that these commissioners had not arrived at any determination, for the arrangements are delayed till next Parliament, though the "new allayed groat" of 7*d.* is reduced to 6*d.*, and its half in proportion. What this coin was is not satisfactorily settled. It is to run at very nearly the same value as the groat of the fleur-de-lis, and yet is called alloyed, as if it were of billon. Mr. Lindsay⁶¹ considers it equal in value to the half of the crown groat.

1473. In July of this year parliament⁶² assembled at Edinburgh and passed the acts given in Lindsay's Appen-

⁵⁸ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 97.

⁵⁹ P. 17; Balfour's "An.," vol. i. p. 196.

⁶⁰ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 100.

⁶¹ P. 179. ⁶² "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 105.

dix⁶³ continuing the present values of the various coins, forbidding the further coinage of the placks and new pennies, and providing that three persons be appointed to see whether they contain five shillings of fine silver in the ounce, as was ordered by the king. In the same parliament⁶⁴ it was provided that in every town where there are goldsmiths, that they should depute and ordain a warden and a deacon of the craft who are to be sworn to examine and mark all articles of gold and silver if of sufficient quality and good workmanship.

1474. In May, 1474, parliament⁶⁵ again met at Edinburgh and passed an important act, which is not noticed by Lindsay. After fixing the amounts of bullion to be brought in by the various exporters of wool, hides, salmon, &c., the act continues, "And because the matter of the monè is ryt subtile and gret, and may not haistely be set, it is thot speidfull that the three estates commit their power to certane wyse and discret personis to the nowmber of x. or xij., to awise and set the course of the monè, and to devise new monè as thai think maist expedient." Every search has been made in the Historical Department of the Register House for any record of the doings of these "discreet persons;" unfortunately without being able to find anything to show what they did. That they did devise a new groat is I think probable from the tenor of the act passed at Edinburgh the next year, which orders groats to be coined, twelve to the ounce, "of the samyn prent that the new grote is now," and to be of the same fineness as the new English groat. The other money

⁶³ P. 227.

⁶⁴ From a MS. of Sir James Balfour's, in the Advocates' Library, it appears that the price of silver at this time was 12s. the ounce.

⁶⁵ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 106.

acts of this parliament forbid the melting of any coined money whatever and raise the course of the current gold coins. The only Scottish ones mentioned are the "demy" of which the value is fixed at 13s. 4d., and the "Scottis crowne" also fixed at 13s. 4d. Mr. Lindsay thinks⁶⁶ the latter is the same coin as the lion, (mentioned along with the demy in the act of 1467, and elsewhere).⁶⁷ As neither Unicorns nor Scottish Riders are mentioned, they had probably not yet been struck, though from the entry about the latter, in the moneyers' account of the following year, it is evident they had been in circulation before August, 1476, when Alex. Levyntoune and Thomas Tod render their account⁶⁸ at Edinburgh. For at that time they account for the profit and expenses of 13 lbs. 5 ozs. of gold coined "*in scutis et novis denariis vulgariter dictis Rydaris*:"—of 273 lbs. of silver coined into groats "*et in dimidiis grossis novis*;" and of 140 lbs. 8 ozs. of silver coined into small pennies. With regard to the gold coinage, it is evident that two sorts of coins were struck, part of the coinage being "*in scutis*" and the rest in Riders. The question therefore arises, what were the gold coins called "*scuta*?" We find, in the later accounts of the same reign, distinct mention of gold coined into unicorns; it is therefore not likely that two names would have been employed in the public accounts for the same coin; and besides the shield is not so prominent on the unicorns as on some of the other gold coins. I have been unable to decide the point satisfactorily. The discovery of this record shows that the appropriation of the Riders

⁶⁶ P. 135.

⁶⁷ Sir J. Balfour's MS., in the Advocates' Library, says that in November of this year the ounce of silver was at 11s. 8d. and the gold at £6.

⁶⁸ MSS., Roll 271.

to James III. is beyond any question.⁶⁹ Half-groats of the Edinburgh mint are very rare, yet we have here a very considerable coinage of them, and apparently more than one type, as they are described as the new half-groat.

1478. Two years after this, King James III. caused a very fine medal in gold to be struck, and sent to the shrine of John the Baptist at Amiens. It is particularly described by Du Cange, in his "*Traité Historique du Chef de St. Jean Baptiste.*"⁷⁰ It weighed nearly 2 ozs., and was $2\frac{1}{3}$ inches in diameter. On the obverse was a beardless king, with long hair, throned, and holding in one hand a naked sword, in the other a shield with the arms of Scotland. On the canopy above the throne, in Gothic letters, the legend IN MY DEFFEN; above the canopy, VILLA BERWICI. The legend is in Gothic letters, MONETA NOVA JACOBI TERTII DEI GRATIA REGIS SCOTIÆ. On the reverse is St. Andrew on his cross, with the usual legend SALVVM, &c. This remarkable medal was stolen during the first French revolution. It was apparently the work of some artist of the mint at Berwick, which was in operation⁷¹ during this reign, though I have been unable, as yet, to trace any record of it.

In the month of June the Scottish parliament⁷² passed an act, which is not given either by Cardonnel or Lindsay. It begins by stating that the money, both of the realm and of other countries having course therein, having been taken away, and melted into bullion to provide for the coinage ordered by last parliament, great inconvenience and

⁶⁹ In the "*Acta Dom. Com.*" we find a case, tried in 1484, in which "*Scottis Ridars*" are again mentioned. "*Ac. Dom. Com.*," p. 94*.

⁷⁰ Pinkerton, on Medals, vol. ii. p. 143.

⁷¹ Lindsay, p. 96; Wingate, p. 72.

⁷² "*Scots Acts*," vol. ii. p. 118.

damage has resulted. For which reason the several acts relating to the import of bullion and the keeping of money in the realm are to be put into "sharp execution;" and in the meantime, until a sufficient quantity of bullion is gathered into the country, the king ordains that all coining and striking of money, "gold, silvyr, gret or small," shall cease; and the coiners shall forthwith deliver up their coining-irons: and as soon as sufficient bullion is collected, the king, with advice of his council, shall make regulations for the weight, fineness, and value of the gold and silver money; and shall also appoint a warden and master of the mint to see these regulations properly carried out. This act shows that between 1474 and 1478 an extensive recoinage had been ordered, but apparently not yet issued.

Later on in the same year⁷³ the lords of Articles are recommended to look into the matter of the money.

1482. In 1482, Cochrane, Earl of Mar, the unworthy favourite of the king, was hanged over the bridge at Lauder. Permission had been given to him, as the chronicles relate,⁷⁴ to strike base money; and this was one of the principal charges brought against him. Proclamation was made, immediately after his death, calling it in.⁷⁵

In February, 1483, the parliament,⁷⁶ sitting at Edinburgh, ordered a piece of gold to be struck of the weight and fineness of the rose noble; also the third and two-thirds of it; and a groat of silver, ten to the ounce, and of the same fineness as the old English groat; and to pass for 14*d.*, with a half-groat corresponding; and the king is to

⁷³ 9th March, "Scots Acts," ii. 122.

⁷⁴ "Pitcottie Chron." (ed. 1814), vol. i. p. 84.

⁷⁵ Burton's "Hist. of Scot.," p. 183 (note); Pinkerton's "Annals," vol. i. 316 (see also App.).

⁷⁶ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 166.

choose a wise man for warden of the mint, who shall assay the gold and silver. And the warden and coiners are to have the same fees they had in the two preceding reigns ; and the seignorage to the king is likewise to be the same.

Mr. Lindsay⁷⁷ doubts whether this act was ever carried into effect ; and it is certain that no gold coins of the weight of the rose noble have as yet been appropriated to this reign. He seems to think, however,⁷⁸ that the silver coinage took place ; though the act of 1485 (omitted both by Cardonnel and Lindsay), which recapitulates, word for word, the act of 1483, renders it likely that the coinage did not take place till after the later date ; and even then, as is apparent from the moneyers' account, not exactly in terms of the act. After again ordering a new coinage of gold and silver, the act goes on to provide for bringing in bullion, and directs that the coiner, out of every forty ounces of silver minted, shall strike one into small pennies,⁷⁹ and specifies the duties of the warden of the mint. The latter part of the act refers to the coinage of placks and half placks, and directs that they and all other money, shall have course as formerly ordained ; and heavy penalties are directed against those who disobey. This act is of great importance for the billon coinage of this reign, and it is surprising that Mr. Lindsay should not only have entirely overlooked it, but placed another act of this year, under the date February, 1483. Cardonnel, in his Appendix,⁸⁰ gives the act correctly, but without any date.

In this parliament⁸¹ provision was made for the better regulation of goldsmiths' work ; and it was ordained that in future the deacon and searchers, to be appointed in each

⁷⁷ P. 138.

⁷⁸ P. 95.

⁷⁹ Lindsay, p. 31.

⁸⁰ App., p. 20.

⁸¹ " Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 172.

borough of the realm where goldsmiths are, shall place on good and sufficient work the workman's privy mark,⁸² the deacon's mark, and the mark of the town; and that the silver shall be eleven penny fine.

Counterfeit money appears to have been largely introduced about this period; for at the close of this parliament⁸³ it was enacted that in consequence of the loss caused by the bad money, which is made so "*subtellie*" that it is impossible to detect it, the new placks are withdrawn from circulation; and those who bring them to the mint are to receive the value of them at the rate of twopence each.

1487. On the 18th of August, this year, Thomas Tod and Alex. Levington presented their accounts⁸⁴ from the 7th October, 1486, of the profits and expenses connected with the coinage of 8 lbs. 1 oz. of gold into unicorns (*in denariis aureis vocatis unicarnys*), and of 181 lbs. 1 oz. of silver into 14*d.* groats and half-groats.

This is the last entry which occurs in the Chamberlain Rolls relating to the coinage. From the Act, which will be noticed immediately, it appears that new officers for the mint, and new regulations for the coinage, were shortly afterwards proposed.

The parliament⁸⁵ that assembled at Edinburgh on the 11th of January, passed some important enactments, which are noticed neither by Cardonnell nor Lindsay.

The first ordains that, in consequence of the loss and damage sustained by false money, that keeps neither the

⁸² It is doubtful from the wording of the act, if this is not to be the searcher's mark.

⁸³ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 174.

⁸⁴ MSS., Roll 292.

⁸⁵ "Scots Acts," vol. ii. p. 182, c. 9, 10, 11, 13.

weight nor the fineness ordered by the act of parliament, and also by counterfeit money by false coiners, and also because in times bygone there were two masters of the money, which rendered it difficult to fix the responsibility—it is now ordered that in all time coming the king is to depute a trusty person to be master of the money, who shall bear the whole charge of it ; and also that a warden and a changer shall be appointed ; and that these shall perform the duties and receive the fees, as in former times. The master of the money shall answer to the warden and changer in all things as is wont ; and that they shall render their accounts to the Exchequer, and that assays shall be made when required.

Other acts provide for the punishment of resettlers of false money, for the due carrying out of the acts about bullion, and for preventing of the exportation of money, &c., out of the kingdom.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

NOTE.

a. My attention has been drawn to the fact that the coin of Alex. II. or III., alluded to at page 31 of the Num. Chron. (1872), is now read ICFRAI ON IN, so that Inchaffray must be deleted from the list of Scottish mints.

β. I am indebted to Dr. Stuart, LL.D., Secretary to the Soc. of Ant. of Scot., for some information about the coins found in Norrie's Law, noticed at p. 19, Num. Chron. (1872). At page 79 of the second vol. of his work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" he gives all that can now be learned about them. It appears from the statements made to him that all the first find were melted before any record could be got of them. The few found later were Roman (of Valens, Constantius, and Antonia) and one Byzantine.

XVII.

ON THE FRENCH MEDALS STRUCK ON THE INTENDED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY NAPOLEON I.

ON December 16, 1869, I exhibited at the Numismatic Society one of these medals with the legend "*Descente en Angleterre*;"¹ and took occasion to make some observations on the audacious mendacity of the great Napoleon. A gentleman present, I remember, remarked that the exergual inscription which the medal bore: "*Frappe à Londres*," seemed to throw some doubt on its authenticity. As the account of these medals has some historical interest, I now give a full description of the one just referred to.

1. *Obv.*—NAPOLEON EMP. ET ROI. Head of Napoleon laureate, r., with one of the ribbons of the wreath hanging across the neck. On the truncation, DROZ FECIT. Below, DENON DIREXI over a stylus.

Rev.—DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE. A naked male figure strangling another, whom he is holding aloft, and whose legs terminate in fishes' tails. In the exergue FRAPPE (*sic*) À LONDRES | EN 1804.

A short time afterwards our friend Mr. Blades most kindly presented me with two other similar medals, but which varied from No. 1.

¹ N.S., vol. x. Proceedings, p. 3.

2. This is, indeed, exactly like No. 1; except that round the rim it bears this inscription—COPIED FROM THE FRENCH MEDAL.

3. *Obv.*—Same legend and similar, but not the same head, the disposition of the ribbons being different, and the head itself a trifle smaller. Same inscription in the truncation; but below, DENON DIREXIM | DCCCVI.

Rev.—TOTO DIVISOS ORBE BRITANNOS.² A similar group, but with some slight variations. The hair of the standing figure is short and curly; it is of the ordinary character in the English copy. There is a sort of scaly ending to the trunk of the other figure on this medal, which is wanting in the copy, and the French work is certainly superior. In the exergue, DENON DI. JEFFR. FE | 1806.

I rather hastily came to the conclusion that the English copy, with its blustering legend and its false exergual inscription, false in grammar as in fact, was a deliberate falsification of the French medal, and that I had done the great man an injustice; but as what I had said had not been reported, this did not much matter. Still, if I had had leisure, I should have communicated these facts to the Numismatic Chronicle, as I thought they were not altogether void of interest. It is as well perhaps that I did not.

Last summer, in a conversation I had with Mr. Franks of the British Museum, who knows something, and that not a little, on every subject, he informed me that the English medal was really copied from a French one, and, though he believed Denon had denied that any such French medal had ever been struck, there was a cast of the original in the British Museum.

² From Virg., Ec. i. 67.

This set me to examine carefully my French medal of 1806 with the legend TOTO DIVISOS ORBE BRITANNOS, and I found in this legend traces of other letters; thus, between the O and D, the last and first letters of the first two words, are two dots, which seemingly have formed a part of other letters; in the V in DIVISOS there is the lower limb of a letter, which may have been that of an E; in the two first letters of ORBE, are clear traces of EN; and in the A in BRITANNOS there is the trace of some letter which is not distinguishable. But it is quite clear that there has been another legend.

Lately I have taken an opportunity of examining the medals in the Museum, and there I find two casts of the original French medal of 1804 and one electrotype of the reverse of the same.

On the obverse is the head of Napoleon without any legend, and beneath it the inscription JEUFFROY FECIT | DENON DIREXIT. The reverse on the two casts and the electrotype has the legend DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE, with the exact type of No. 3, and in the exergue the inscription FRAPPEE A LONDRES | EN 1804,

From these facts it is probably safe to conclude that in 1804 the die at least of a medal was prepared, from an impression of which the English copy was made, though imperfectly, and with the blunder of *Frappe* for *Frappée*.

It may be worth while to consider the circumstances under which this original medal was devised.

In May, 1803, after the failure of the Treaty of Amiens, war was declared between England and France. Napoleon, or Bonaparte as he was then called, furious against this country, formed what was called the Army of England for its invasion; but beyond this nothing was actually

done. This state of uncertainty continued for a year. In May, 1804, he took the title of Emperor, and in July he left Paris to visit the camp of Boulogne and the Army of England. On that occasion he distributed the Legion of Honour to his soldiers, with his head as Emperor. About this time too, medals, still extant and common, were struck as follows :

Obv.—NAPOLEON EMPEREUR. Head laureate, r.
J. P. DROZ. F. below.

Rev.—EN L'AN XII 2000 BARQUES SONT CON-
STRUITES. A naked male figure to left,
squeezing an animal of the leopard species
between his legs and throttling it with a cord.
In the exergue, DENON DIREXIT | 1804.

This design seems to have been copied from an antique gem engraved in Worlidge, No. 4.

Napoleon, it is well known, loved to call the lion on the arms of England a leopard. And I believe that, heraldically, it is properly designated as a "lion leopard." Why, heralds only know.

This last-mentioned medal, therefore, was struck in this year, 1804, to commemorate the construction of the flotilla of *prames*, or flat-bottomed boats and gun-boats that were to convey the army across the Channel for the subjugation of England. At this time then, the die was prepared to commemorate the *Descent on England*, ready to be *struck in London*, when the victorious French army should arrive there. This was quite in keeping with the finger-posts at Boulogne that were inscribed "Chemin de Londres."³

In the meantime, as the descent on England never did take place, and Napoleon was "wanted" elsewhere, and

³ I cannot refer to my authority for this statement, but I am sure I have met with it. I think it is in a life of Ugo Foscolo.

the battle of Trafalgar had been fought, the design for the medal commemorating "such descent as aforesaid," as the lawyers would say, became comparatively useless. But the type was good to mark the hatred of France towards England, and the desire at least of the former to subjugate the latter. It was a modification of the type of Hercules destroying Antaeus. But here there were no accessories of Hercules, and France was meant to be represented by the successful wrestler; and instead of the earth-born Antaeus, England was portrayed as a very fishy party. And so the medal, with an alteration of the legends and date, was struck in 1806.

Such appears to be the curious history of this affair.

In the Museum there is a specimen of the medal No. 3 with precisely the same marks of alterations in the letters, and also of the English copy No. 2, with the inscription round the rim; but there is none of No. 1 without such inscription, which possibly may have been erased from this and other specimens with the fraudulent intention of passing it off as the original medal.

I fear I have made this a very egotistical paper, giving rather an account of how I have traced the history of this medal to its source, rather than its history from the beginning. But I trust this may be excused.

T. J. ARNOLD.

LONDON, *October*, 1872.

NOTE.

Mr. Henfrey has been good enough to refer me to a paper in the "Penny Magazine" for November 24, 1838 (p. 452), on the Boulogne Museum, in which the medal No. 1, with the legend FRAPPE A LONDRES, is described as being there. The writer states that there are but few specimens in existence, as they were, it is said, suppressed. The specimen in the Museum, however, is obviously the English fabrication. The reverse is engraved in the magazine.


XVIII.

SASSANIAN COINS.

(*Continued from p. 119.*)

THE concluding section of my second notice in this volume of the Numismatic Chronicle (p. 119) of the Sassanian coins figured in Mr. Steuart's plates, introduced an extraneous element in the contact of the Imperial issues with the provincial mintages of a borderland, which fortuitously had concentrated within its limits so large an infiltration of Greek mythology as accepted by the Bactrians, and had preserved for modern investigation, on the surface of its coins, so many curious vestiges of the contrasted types of Western worship in association with the cognate or otherwise independently-matured developments of Eastern religious ideals.

The crude and imperfectly-finished Indo-Scythic gold and copper pieces, conventionally known as the *Kanerki* series, present us with numerous forms of pure Greek, Mithraic, Vedic, Brahmanical, and Buddhist symbolizations of the recognised divinities of each creed, at a given period, in a fixed locality. Here in these comparatively undisturbed Asiatic centres, on and around the main highways of chance conquest and hazardous commerce, the conflicting emanations of crude Shamanism and more elaborately matured priestcraft, if they did not find a dominant home, at least secured a safe abiding-place in the full and free exercise of their sacred rites.

púhari, and the mint , *As* (?). A gold coin of this type in the British Museum has the word *Maliki* inserted on the reverse field (see a similar entry in No. 36, *ante*, p. 115).

I attribute this unwonted departure from established usage in the style of Sapor's head-dress to the influence of Western associations imbibed during his varied intercourse with the Romans ; and a like disregard of home traditions seems to be indicated in the reproduction of his likeness in the bust issuing from the flames of the altar on the reverse. We have seen that these Sassanian kings claimed a divine origin, but they do not seem to have arrogated divine attributes, such as should have caused their images to appear in response to a prayer or a sacrifice, at which the monarch himself so frequently appears in the act of officiating in his own proper person. M. de Longpérier was under the impression that this device alluded to the king's *Ferohar*, and he goes on to say, "On remarque au revers des médailles d'Hormisdas un buste placé sur l'autel au milieu des flammes. Cette addition au type ordinaire, qu'on retrouvera sur les médailles Nos. 36, &c., a été fort bien comprise de Marsden, qui, en décrivant la médaille No. 36, s'exprime ainsi : 'It might be considered as the representation of a figure beginning to ascend from the flames ; the *feruar*, perhaps of Persian mythology ; . . what is here exhibited may be the genius of the king himself brought to view by the performance of religious rites.' " Marsden, however, goes on to add, " Sir William Ouseley, indeed, suggests a different explanation of this mysterious appearance, where he says, " In the human head placed on a fire-altar, we may discover *Ormuzd*, or the Divinity, existing amidst flames " (i. 441). M. de Longpérier, in support of Marsden's view, concludes, " Il faut dire encore

que les médailles que je décris sous les Nos. 49, 55 (pls. viii. 5, ix. 5) [Varahrán V. and Vologeses] présentent au centre de l'autel un buste ajusté comme celui du roi l'est au droit des mêmes médailles. Cette similitude est décisive. La personne du roi étant *Ized* (Burnouf *Yaçna* 218), on conçoit très-facilement que sa représentation, son *férover*, soit confondu dans l'adoration des hommes avec le feu d'Ormazd" (p. 37). The similitudes here pointed out indubitably exist, but the larger question remains as to their application, and as to whether these godlike forms were not intentionally imitated, in a spirit of Oriental flattery, from the living busts of royalty. The earlier representations of Ormazd's head have nothing in common with the concurrent image of the king, and the *ferohar* supposition seems to be negatived conclusively by the fact that we find such expressions as the following in the Parsi sacred texts now accessible: "I [Zoroaster] will now tell you . . . the wise sayings of the most wise . . . the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames," (*Gatha Ahunavaiti*). And more distinctly in the contents of the *Yasna Haptanhaiti*, which are prayers offered up to Ormazd, &c., "to the fire, as the symbol of Ahuramazda, who appears in its blazing flame."¹ Further illustrations of this question are afforded by the advanced devices of the class of coins represented by No. 59 in this article.

No. 42. Pl. IV., Fig. 2.

Obv.—Head of Sapor II., with a raised crown, surmounted by the ordinary globe. The point of the beard is tied and decorated with the curious cross-bars already noticed in Fig. 1.

¹ Dr. M. Haug, "Essays on the Sacred Language and Religion of the Parsees." Bombay, 1862. Pp. 141, 161.

No. 45. Pl. IV., Fig. 5. Half piece.

Obv.—Similar to Figs. 2 and 3; but the legend is arranged in double lines. In the inner circle the name of *Shah-pûhar* is distinct.

Rev.—Fire-altar and supporters, as in Figs. 1, 2, 3, with *Rasti* on the pedestal of the altar.

ARDESHÎR II. A.D. 380—384.

No. 46. Pl. IV., Fig. 6.²

Obv.—Crudely executed bust of the king, wearing a cap-shaped tiara, surmounted by the usual globe, &c.

(هکوددا رحد) اردشیر دوم

(مزدیسن بگی) ارتخشتر مرکان مرکا ایران

(*Mazdisan Bayi*) *Artashatr Markân Markâ Airan.*

“(The Ormazd worshipper, divine) Artaxerxes, King of Kings of Irân.”

Rev.—The ordinary fire-altar (*without* the head of Ormazd). Supporters (coarsely defined) facing the altar, with swords at guard. No legends.

No. 47. M. de Bartholomæi,³ in his unpublished plates, gives several examples of the money of this king, which are distinguished by better defined outlines of the tiara than Mr. Steuart's specimen here engraved. The intention would seem to have been to follow, with slight modification, the pattern of the crown adopted by Varahrân III. (Pl. III., Fig. 6, No. 30, *ante*). One of the peculiarities of the palæography, only partially indicated in Fig. 6, Pl. IV., but already more distinctly developed

² Dr. Mordtmann gives a stamped reproduction of a similar coin of Ardishîr II., under fig. 13, pl. vii., of his illustrations. The impression is taken from a coin of Dr. Rosen's. The three coins, Nos. 1, 2, 3, pl. vii., of M. de Longperier's work, erroneously assigned to Ardeshr II., belong to Yezdegird I. (see Figs. 10—13, Pl. IV., and Fig. 1, Pl. V., *infra*).

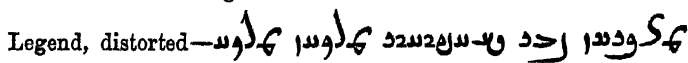
³ Prinseps' Essays, ii. 40.

in the gold piece of Hormazd II. (No. 36, *ante*), is the gradual substitution of the Pehlvi $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭮}$, 𐭮 , 𐭮 , for the previously conventional $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭮}$, 𐭮 , in *Małká*. This innovation is prominently established by the more perfect specimens in the Russian collection.⁴

SHÁHPUR III. A.D. 384—386.

No. 48. Pl. IV., Fig. 7.

Obv.—Bust of king, with ornamental flat tiara, surmounted by the usual globe, &c.


Legend, distorted—
 مزدیسن بگی شهپوهری ملکان ملکا
Mazdisan Bagi Shahpūhari Malkán Malka.


“The Ormazd worshipper, divine Shahpūr, King of Kings.”

Rev.—Fire-altar, with Ormazd in the flames. Supporters facing the pyre.

Legend— *Atū(r)*. “Fire.”

No. 49. Pl. IV., Fig. 8. Similar coin, with a better defined tiara and more legible epigraph, identical with the *restored* legend above given.

Rev.—Legend, a more definite approach to the full inscription to be found on the better specimens of this mintage, embodying the two words,  *Atūri Shahpūhari*, (Sacred) “fire of Shahpūr.”

On the pedestal of the altar are to be seen traces of the now conventional adjunct , *Rasti*, “Truth” (see, *ante*, coin 39).

⁴ A reference to the Table of Alphabets prefixed to this series of papers will remind the reader that $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭮}$ stood for 𐭮 and 𐭮 , while 𐭮 did duty for 𐭮 or 𐭮 .

The coin figured as No 7, Pl. III., which was noticed at p. 112 as out of place, would appear to belong to Sapor II. The legend is illegible in the engraving, and I have vainly sought for the original in the British Museum, where many of Mr. Steuart's coins are preserved. The reverse varies from those of Nos. 48 and 49 in the absence of Ormazd's head from the flames of the altar.

VARAHRÁN IV. Kermán Sháh. A.D. 386—397.

No. 50. Pl. IV., Fig. 9.

Obv.—Head of king, with the elegant tiara, officially recognised as his device (which may be seen to better advantage in coins Figs. 2 and 3, Pl. V.).

Legend (imperfect)— * *

No. 52. Pl. V., Fig. 3. Similar coin as regards the obverse. The reverse reverts to the Ormazd's head, and in addition to the remains of the usual *Rásti* on the shaft of the altar, retains traces of the elsewhere complete record of 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿, *Varahrán atúrí*, "Varahran's fire." Above the altar, to the left of the fire, may be seen the letters 𐭠𐭡, *As*, which seemingly stand for the initial letters of the name of the mint. On other specimens we find the biliteral forms 𐭠𐭡, 𐭠𐭡𐭢, 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣, 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤 (i.e., A.H.), 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥, 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦, and 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧, which obviously associates itself with the ancient mint of Dárábgird. In addition to these

simple forms, we have the compounds $\frac{\text{𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿}}{\text{𐭠𐭡}} = \frac{\text{Shí}}{\text{zi}}$ and

$\frac{\text{𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿}}{\text{𐭠𐭡}} = \frac{\text{Kar}}{\text{zi}}$ on opposite sides of the flames, as thus reproduced, which may possibly stand for "of Shíz" (Canzaca)⁶ and "of Kán," &c.

No. 53. The most interesting varieties of Varahrán IV.'s coins are those which revive the ancient form of the fire-altar of Ardeshr Bábak (Pl. I., 6—12), of which we already have imitative reproductions under Sapor II. (Longpérier, vi. i.) These present us with the contrasted legends of 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿, *Valahlan Atúrí*, arranged around the sacred fire in the order quoted, and 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿, *Rásti Valahlán*, so written in some instances,

the device was first introduced by Hormazd II. (No. 34, p. 113) in association with his expedition towards Kábul.

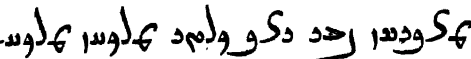
⁶ J. R. A. S., xiii., p. 398, No. 30 mint. Sir H. Rawlinson, Jour. R. Geog. Soc., x. (1840), p. 398.

presents us with a full-length portrait of the king in the act of spearing one of the national enemies of his race, a prostrate Roman soldier. The crown of the youthful monarch will be seen to be identical with that figured on the coins, and the position of the figure and the weapons he bears are authorized by the traditional portraits preserved to a comparatively modern date, amid the archives of the state.⁹



YESDEGIRD I. A.D. 397—417.

No. 54. Pl. IV., Fig. 10.


Obv.—Head of the king, with close-fitting helmet, tiara, globe above, and crescent in front.

Legend (restored)—
 مزدیسن بگی یزدکرتی ملکان ملکا
Mazdisan Bāgi Izdakirti Malkān Malkā.

“The Ormazd worshipper, divine Yezdegird, King of Kings.”

Rev.—Simple fire-altar, with the king and a Mobed ministering at the service. On the pedestal of the altar 
Rāstī. Above the altar, to the left of the flames,  *ka.*

No. 55. Pl. IV., Fig. 12. Similar coin, with a more complete obverse legend.

Rev.—Fire-altar, as above. On the shaft , *Atūrī (?)*;

⁹ *Bahram filius Saporis, cognomento Kirmanschah.*
Vestis cærulea est, acu picta, braccæ rubræ itemque picturatæ, corona viridis inter tres apices et lunulam auream; stat dextra manu hastem tenens, sinistra gladio innixus. (Translation from the Arabic text of Hamza Isfahāni, by Dr. Gottwaldt. St. Petersburg, 1846. P. 39.)

on the right margin **دکړولم**, *Izdakarti*; on the
sides of the fire $\frac{\text{ود} \text{ kin}}{\text{لاد} \text{ ladi.}}$

No. 56. Pl. IV., Fig. 11.

Obv.—Head as usual.

Legend—**سکودندار حد لسهو دم د د کړولم د ه لوسر ه لوس**

مزدیسن بگی رامشتری یزدکرتی ملکان ملکا

Rev.—Fire-altar as usual. Left, *Izdakarti*; right, *Atūri*;
above the altar, **دند**, *As*.

No. 57. Pl. IV., Fig. 13.

Obv.—As in the last coin.

Rev.—Altar as above.

Legend—**دسهو دم د د کړولم د د**

اتشی رامشتری یزدکرتی

Atishī here takes the place of the older form of *Atūri*.

On the sides of the Flames $\frac{\text{ود} \text{ kār}}{\text{س} \text{ zi.}}$

No. 58. Pl. V., Fig. 1.

Obv.—The usual head.

Legend (head-lines facing inwards) **دسهو دم د د کړولم د وود**

رامشتری یزدکرتی کدی

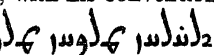
Ramshatri Izdakarti Kadi.

Rev.—The usual fire-altar, &c. Left, **د**, *h*; right, **د**, *At*.

VARARHÁN V. Gó. A.D. 417—438.

No. 59. Pl. VII., Fig. 8.

Obv.—Head of the king, with his conventional tiara.

Legend—

ورهران ملكان ملكا

Valahlán Malkán Malká.

[Other specimens add, *Magdísan Bagí Rám-shatri.*]

“Varahrán, King of Kings.”

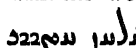
Rev.—Fire-altar, with the head of the king inserted in the upper section of the pedestal, immediately below the fire, in the centre of the flames of which appear the crescent and globe of his tiara. It will be seen that in this case the king's head occupies a very different position from the Ormazd head of the previous currencies. In effect, it constitutes a part of the altar itself; thus indicating more clearly the monarch's personal ownership of the fire, which the earlier legends have taught us to recognise.

To the left of the device, *Valahlán*. To the right the mint monogram *Ai*.

No. 60. Longpérier. Pl. VIII., Fig. 5.

Obv.—Conventional representation of the king.

Rev.—The ordinary simple fire-altar, usually supplemented with the word *Rásti* on the shaft, and the legend of

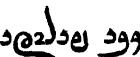
 *Valahlán atúri*, more or less completely defined. The mint-mark in these examples is above the altar.

The following comprise the initial mint records of Varahrán V. that have come under my observation:—AS, AE, VH, LS or RS, ZEV or ZEK, LD or RD, AT, KA, KR, MI, PLI or PRI, BR or BU.

YFZDEGIRD II. A.D. 438—457.

No. 61. Pl. V., Fig. 4.

Obv.—Head of king, with turreted tiara, similar to that of his father, Varahrán V.

Legend— } Behind the head traces
 ܟܕܝ ܦܝܪܘܫܝ } of *Mazdisan*.
Kadi Firûchi.

Rev.—Simple fire-altar and supporters, with star and crescent above the altar. Legend, to the left, *Firûchi*. To the right the mint initials, *As, Wal, Rad* or *Lad* (?).

No. 65. Small coin of similar types. Mint, *As*.

No. 66. Pl. V., Figs. 7, 8.

Obv.—Head of king, with crown, crescent, globe, &c., following more closely the conventional tiaras of his predecessors, seemingly marking, in the contrast with Nos. 6—11, the currencies of the metropolitan provinces. Legend as above.

Rev.—Fire-altar, supporters, star, and crescent as above.

This class of coins introduces us to the novelty of the first insertion of the dates of the reign, which are entered on the left of the field of the reverse, in the space devoted in the other variety of coins to the repetition of the name of the king. The numbers observed are the Syriac *Arba* 4, *Sata* 6, *Shaba* 7, and the Persian *Dumazdah* 12.

EDW. THOMAS.

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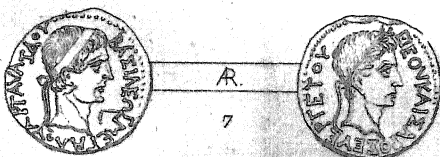
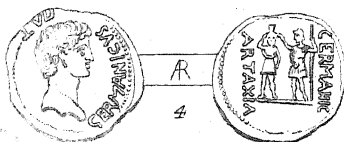
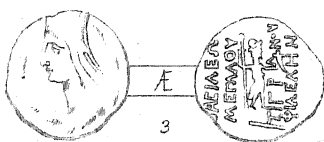
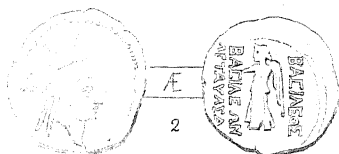
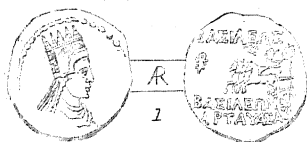
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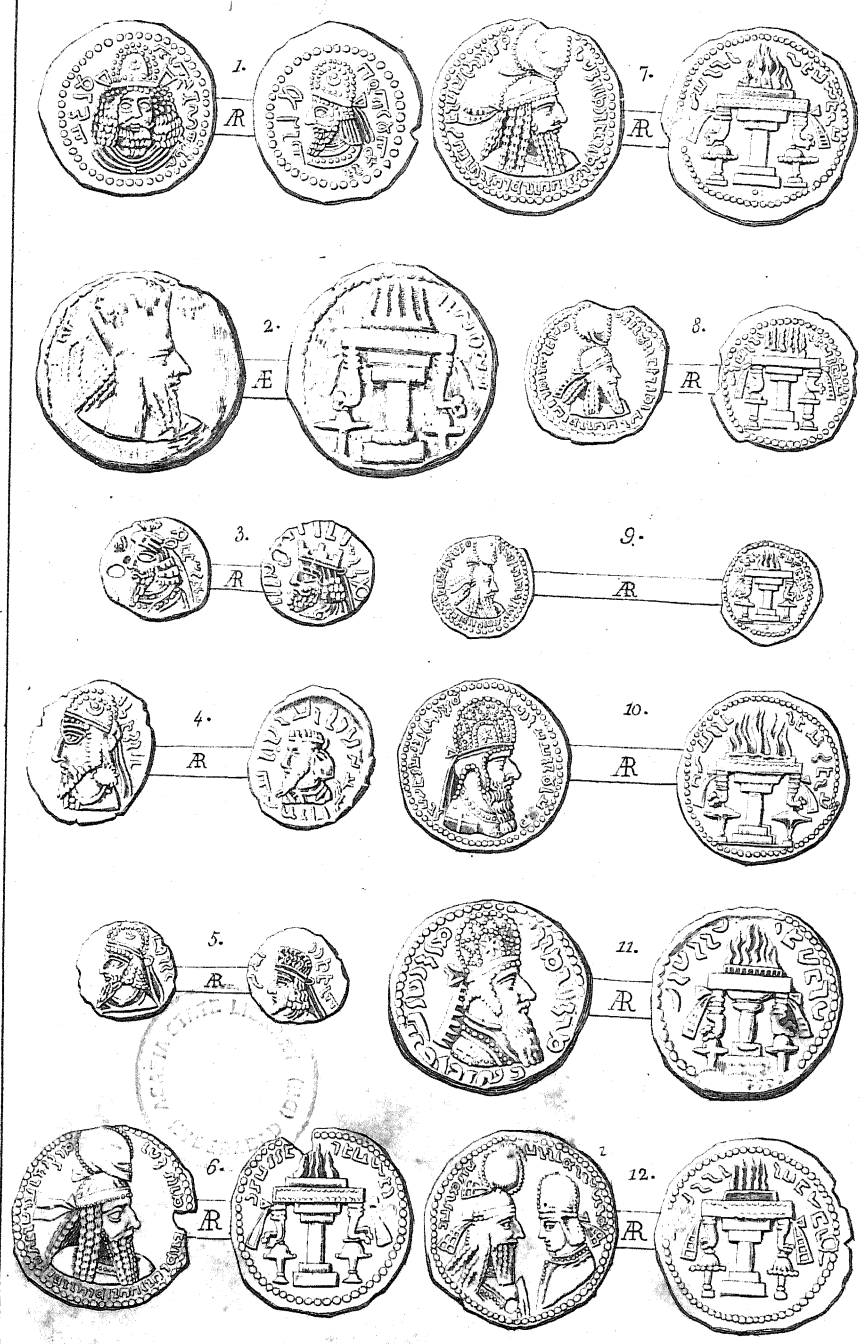
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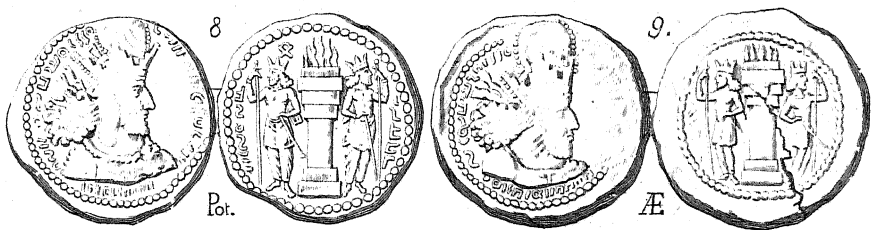
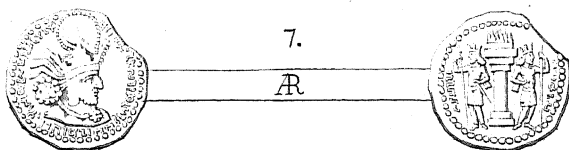
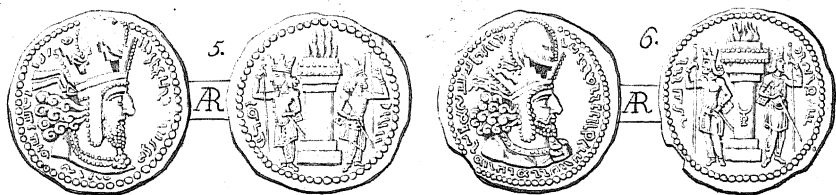
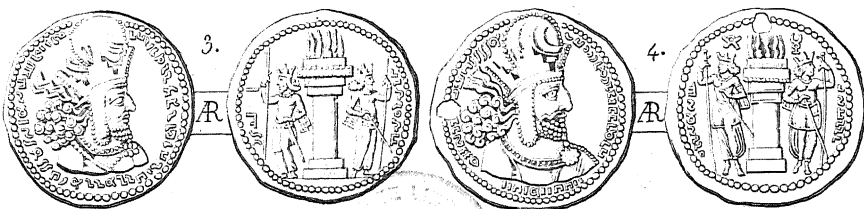
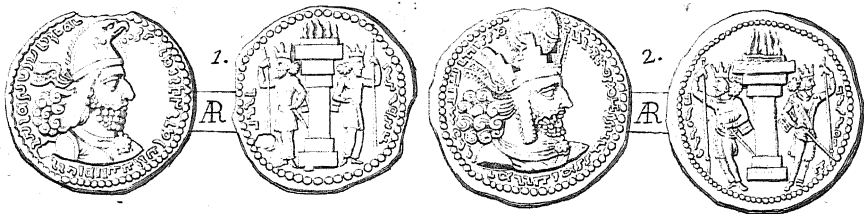
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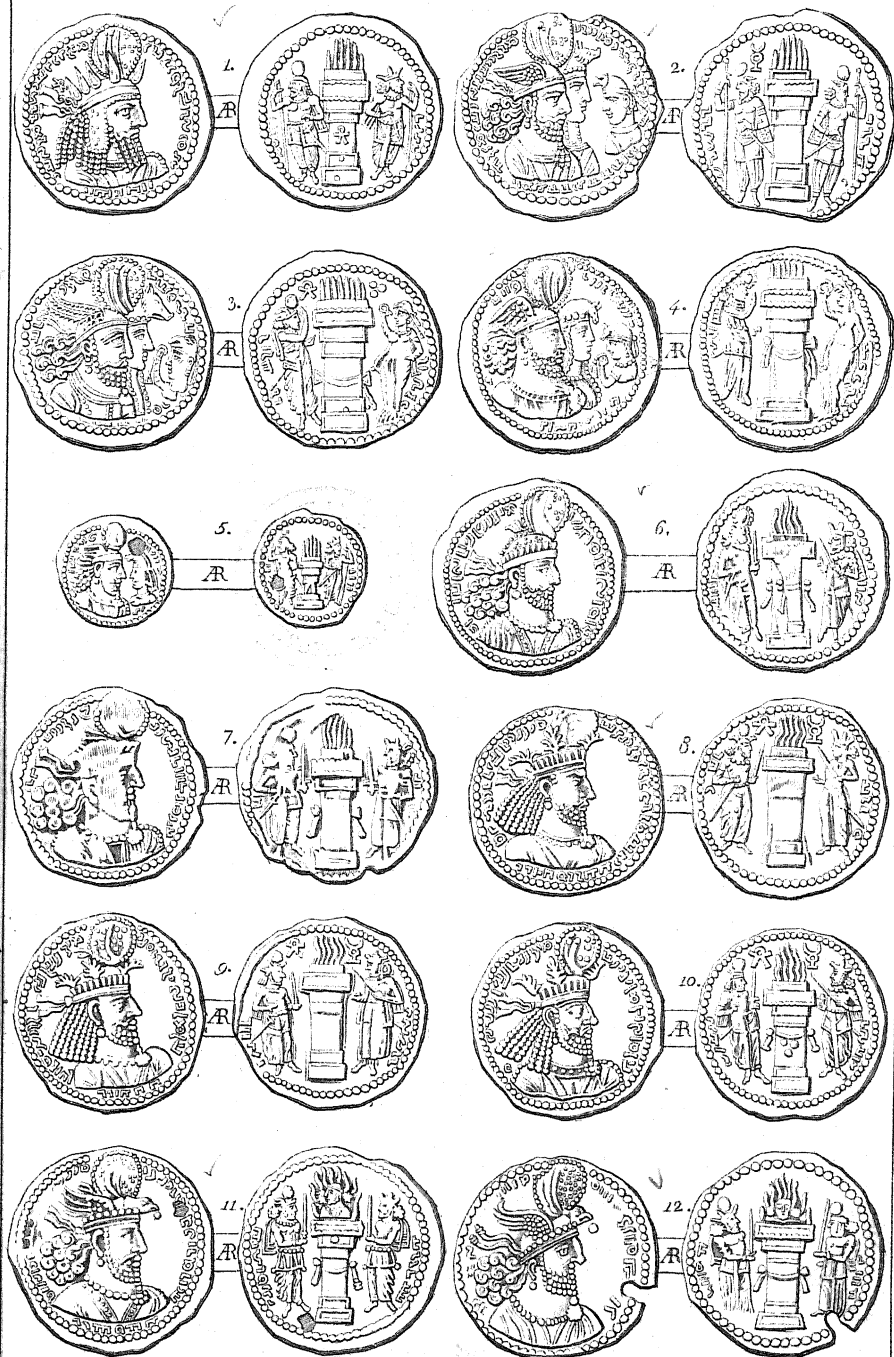
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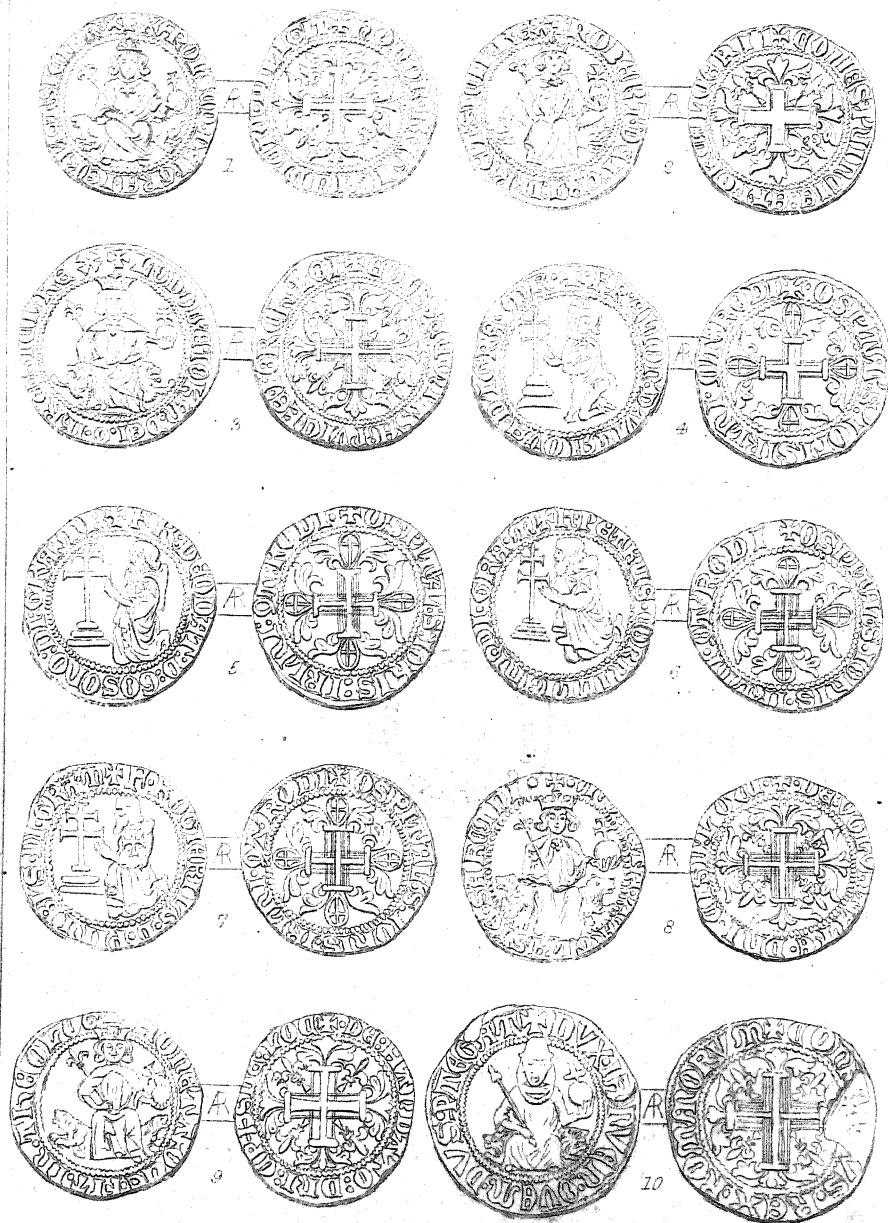






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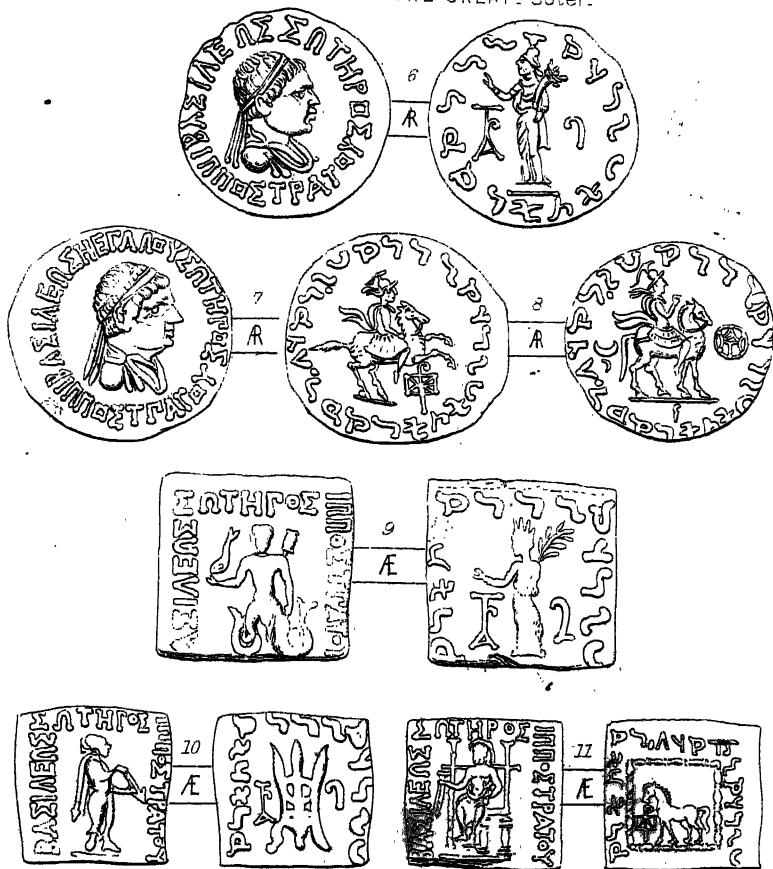


COINS FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE
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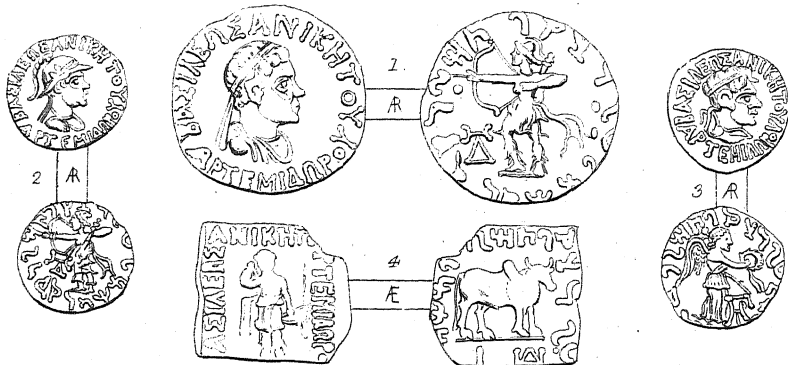
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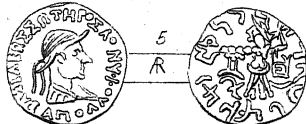
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ARTEMIDORUS. ANIKETOS.



APOLLOPHANES. Soter.



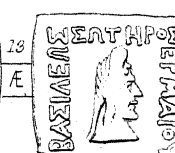
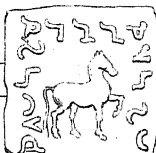
TELEPHUS. Euergetes.



HERMÆUS. Soter.



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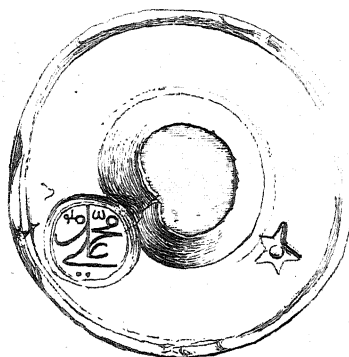
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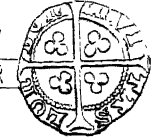
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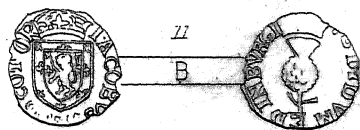
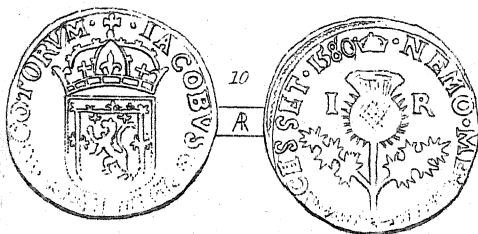
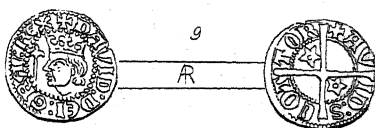
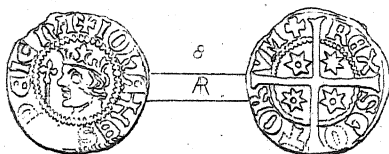
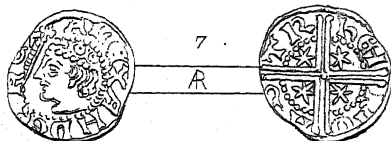
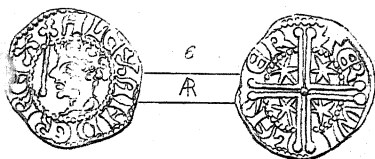
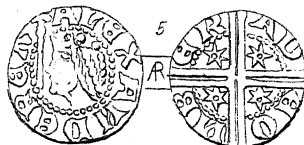
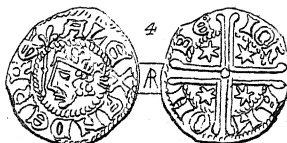
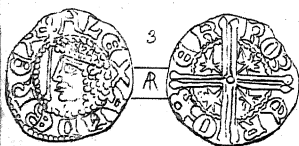
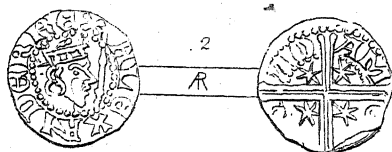
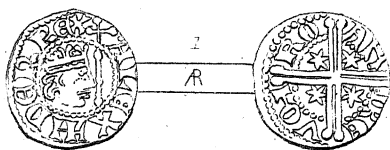


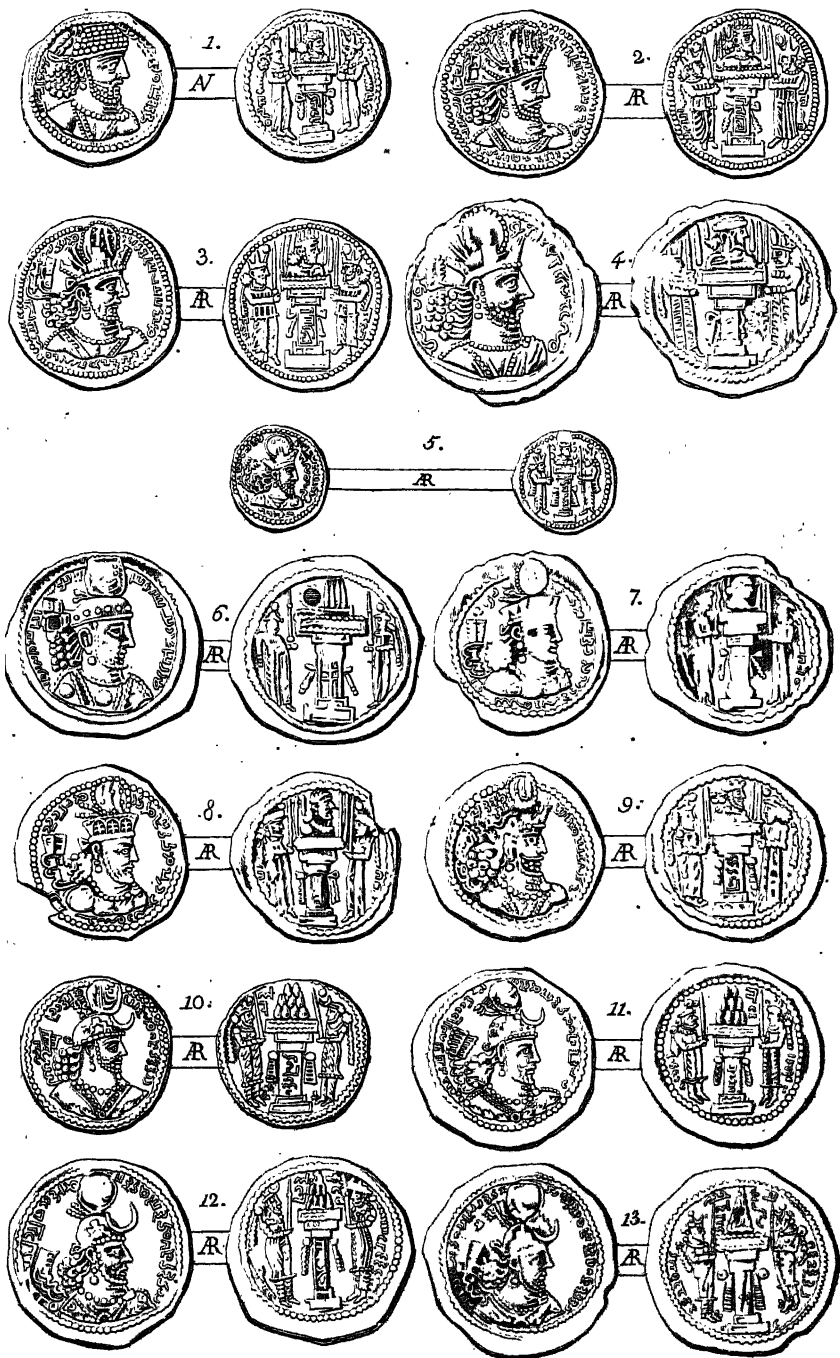
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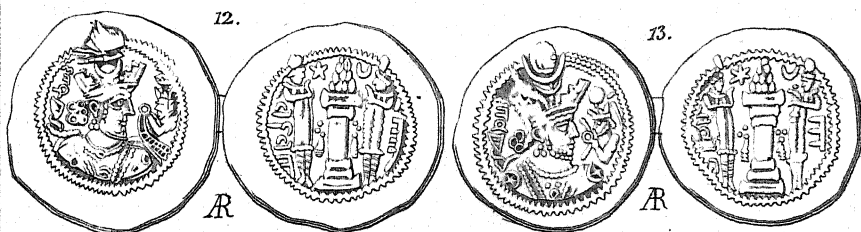
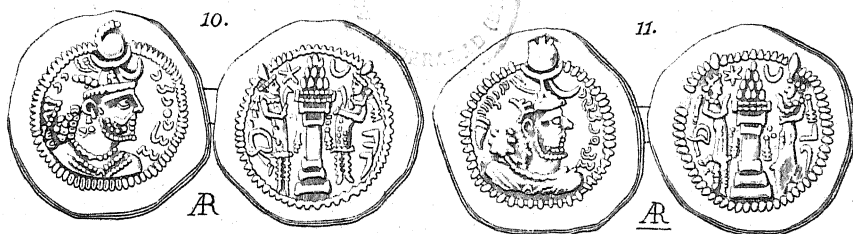
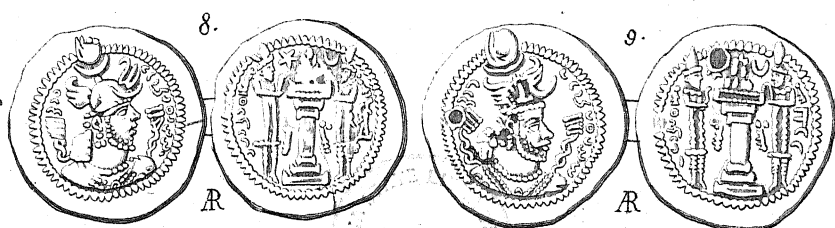


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1871—1872.

OCTOBER 19, 1871.

W. BLADES, Esq., Librarian, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table :—

1. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. 2^{me} Série. Vols. xxix. and xxx., 1870. From the Society.
2. Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1871. From the Society.
3. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5^{me} Série, tome iii., 3^{me} livraison, 1871. From the Society.
4. The Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. i., Nos. 6 and 7, 1871. From the Society.
5. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Parts II., III., and IV. for 1870, with Index and Part I. for 1871. From the Society.
6. Comptes rendues de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, tome i., 1869. From the Society.
7. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1^{re} trimestre de 1871. From the Society.
8. Smithsonian Report for 1869. From the Smithsonian Society.

9. Description of a Selection of Coins and Medals relating to America. By W. S. Appleton, Esq. From the Author.

10. Les Squelettes des Arènes de Paris. By M. Charles Lefebvre. From the Author.

11. Medals, Clasps, and Crosses. By J. W. Fleming, Esq., F.R.C.S. From the Author.

12. Observations of Comets from B.C. 611—A.D. 1640, extracted from the Chinese Annals. By John Williams, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

Mr. Frontzel exhibited medals of Francis Joseph I. of Austria, struck in commemoration of the opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, and of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the same year.

Mr. Golding exhibited a solidus of Arcadius, struck at Milan, and a denarius of Sept. Severus, both found at Caerwent.

Mr. Lang, H.B.M. Consul for Cyprus, exhibited a gold stater of Alexander the Great, bearing a star and the monogram ΣΑ on the reverse, which he was of opinion was coined at the mint of Salamis, in Cyprus. This stater was one of a large hoard of gold coins of Philip II. of Macedon, Alexander the Great, and Philip III., lately discovered near Larnaca, in Cyprus, and nearly the whole of which has come into the possession of Mr. Lang. A detailed account of the hoard is given in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 229.

Mr. P. Gardner contributed a paper "On some Greek coins bearing the Letters ΤΡΙΗ," which is printed in the Num. Chron., vol. xi., p. 162.

Mr. Barclay V. Head read a paper, by himself, "On some rare Greek Coins recently acquired by the British Museum," of which he exhibited impressions. See vol. xi., p. 166.

Mr. Longstaffe contributed a paper entitled, "Did the Kings between Edward III. and Henry VI. coin Money at York on their own Account?" It is printed in vol. xi., p. 193.

NOVEMBER 16, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair

P. Berney Brown, Esq., Percy Gardner, Esq., M.A., Alfred J. Lawson, Esq., K. M. Nicholson, Esq., and Joseph B. Ripley, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table :—

1. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* 2^{me} trimestre de 1871. From the Society.

2. *Münz-sammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-österreich.* By M. Frédéric Kenner, Conservateur du Cabinet Impérial des Médailles, at Vienna. From the Author.

3. *The Thorngraston Find.* By Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited some pennies of William Rufus, chiefly struck at London.

Mr. T. Jones exhibited a drachma of the island of Rhodes, having on the obverse a head of Helios, with a new counter-mark.

R. H. Lang, Esq., H.B.M. Consul at Cyprus, communicated a paper, giving an account of the treasure of gold staters of Philip the Second of Macedon, Alexander the Great, and Philip Arrhidæus, lately found at Larnaca. See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xi., p. 229.

M. F. de Sauley communicated a paper "On the Coins of the Zamarides Jewish Dynasts of Bathyra." Printed in vol. xi., p. 157.

DECEMBER 21, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Robert W. Cochran Patrick, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid on the table:—

Imitations des Monnaies au type Esterlin frappées en Europe pendant le xiii. et xiv. Siècles. By J. Chautard. From W. Blades, Esq.

Mr. Sim sent for exhibition impressions of a silver coin of Alexander of Epirus, struck at Tarentum, and of a silver coin of Naxos, in Sicily, in fine preservation: obverse, head of Dionysos; reverse, Faun. Mr. Sim also contributed a short account of the Dornoch Treasure-trove, which consisted of one Scottish penny of Alexander III., seventy-six English pennies of Edwards I., II., and III., and three foreign sterlings.

Mr. Henfrey exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Mackenzie, of Dornoch, a set of English silver coins of Edwards I., II., and IV., Charles I. and II., and a Bactrian copper coin of Azes.

Mr. Vaux exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Sherman, impressions of six Carlovingian coins found at Mullaboden, Ballymore Eustace, county Kildare, in March, 1871.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited enlarged plates of a set of fine Greek coins of Kroton, Heraklea, Thasos, Elis, &c., printed by the new Heliotype process.

Mr. A. J. Evans communicated a paper, printed in vol. xi., p. 264, on a find of some two hundred coins of Edwards I., II., and III., at Oxford. Mr. Evans, after a detailed examination of this hoard, arrived at the conclusion that the usually accepted distinction between the coins of the first three Edwards, according to the more or less lengthened form of the King's name and titles upon the obverse, must be considerably modified by the consideration of the style, weight, &c., of the coins themselves, and by documentary evidence bearing upon the question.

Mr. Neck made some remarks upon Mr. A. J. Evans's proposed new classification of the above-mentioned coins, in the course of which he expressed his opinion that it was based upon a more scientific theory than that which has generally been adopted.

JANUARY 18, 1872.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

W. R. Baker, Esq., Arthur John Evans, Esq., and E. T. Rogers, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table :—

1. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*. 5^{me} Série, tome iv., 1^{re} livraison. From the Society.

2. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 3^{me} trimestre de 1871. From the Society.

3. *Mémoire sur les Monnaies Datées des Seleucides*. By M. F. de Sauley. From the Author.

Mr. J. F. Neck exhibited a groat of Edward III., reading on the obverse, + EDWAR' × DEI × GRA' × REX × ANGL' × DNS' × HIB' × Z'AC, and having an annulet on each side of the head, instead of the ordinary trefoil at the end of the cusps of the tressure. This coin was struck at London, and weighs sixty-nine grains.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon exhibited an electrotpe of an unpublished coin of the British chief, Verica, lately found in Sussex.

Mr. P. Gardner communicated a paper "On an Unpublished Coin of Artavazdes II., King of Armenia," which will be found in vol. xii., p. 9.

Mr. Cochran Patrick communicated a paper "On some Unpublished Varieties of Scottish Coins;" and Mr. Rogers one "On a Dinar of Bedr, the Son of Husnawiyeh." See vol xi., pp. 288 and 258.

FEBRUARY 15, 1872.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Henry Septimus Gill, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid on the table:—

Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. N.S., vol. vi., Oct. 1867, No. 58. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited a second brass coin of Hadrian, found in Hertfordshire, and with BRITANNIA on the reverse.

Major Hay exhibited coins of the Ortokite class of Nejmeddin Melek Diarbekr, of Husâm ed-din Melek Diarbekr, and of Alkâmil, Sultan of Egypt. The reverses of the first two of these coins were imitated from the Greek.

Mr. G. Sim communicated an account of four recent finds of coins in Scotland, at Kircudbright, Dunbar, Leith Harbour, and Lanark.

M. de Sauley communicated a paper “On the Term ἡγεμονία employed in Holy Scripture to designate, metaphorically, Power.” It is printed in vol. xii., p. 65.

MARCH 21, 1872.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Henry Clark, Esq., the Rev. Alfred H. Cummings, and Henry Webb, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. A bronze medal commemorative of the munificent bequests of the late Mr. Thomas Brown to the Stationers' Company, of which an impression will be given annually to a scholar of the Stationers' School. From the Stationers' Company.

2. Monnaies au type Esterlin. Part II. By J. Chautard. From W. Blades, Esq.

3. Report, Proceedings, &c., of the Liverpool Numismatic Society. 1st year. 1871. From the Society.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited the two varieties of the Prussian war-medals given to combatants and non-combatants during the late war.

The Rev. S. S. Lewis exhibited a tetradrachm of Athens, differing from one described by M. Beulé (p. 365) in giving ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑ instead of ΕΡΜΟΚ, and thus suggesting that the name in full was ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, and not ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ. He also exhibited a plated coin of Gordian the Third, with the reverse, TRANQVILLITAS AVGG, probably taken from a die of Philip the First.

Mr. Herbert Grueber gave an account of the discovery, by Mr. J. T. Wood, at Ephesus, in his excavations on the site of the Temple of Diana, of a hoard of 2,231 mediæval silver coins, and several lumps of the same metal. This paper is printed in vol. xii., p. 120.

APRIL 18, 1872.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. i., 4th Series, October, 1871. From the Society.

2. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5^{me} Série, vol. iv., 2^{me} livraison. From the Society.

3. Revue Numismatique. N.S., vol. xiv., 1869. From the Society.

4. Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben. N.S., Part I. From the Society.

5. Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour l'année 1869, avec un Atlas. From the Commission.

6. Revenue resources of the Mughal Empire. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S. Presented by Colonel Guthrie.

7. The Coins, Medals, and Tokens of the Dominion of

Canada, with a Supplement. By Alfred Sandham, Esq. From the Author.

8. The Montreal Trade Tokens. By Alfred Sandham, Esq. From the Author.

9. Six Canadian Medals. By A. Sandham, Esq.

10. Nederlandsche Gedenkpenningen. By Jeronimo de Vries and J. C. de Jonge. From W. Blades, Esq.

Mr. Sheriff Mackenzie sent for exhibition a rubbing of an unpublished London penny of Edward III. of England, lately found in Sutherlandshire. The words of the legend on the obverse are divided by small saltires, x, and the same mark occurs between three of the pellets on the reverse.

Mr. Pearson exhibited a second brass coin of Augustus, of considerable rarity, with the type of Victory placing a laurel-wreath upon the head of the Emperor on the obverse.

Mr. Cochran Patrick communicated a paper "On the Annals of the Coinage of Scotland." It is printed in vol. xii., p. 16.

MAY 16, 1872.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Henry Christie, Esq., the Rev. R. V. French, D.D., and Henry James, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., vol. v., Part II. From the Society.

2. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. ii., 4th Series, No. 9. From the Society.

3. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4^{me} trimestre de 1871. From the Society.

4. A Guide to the Select Greek Coins exhibited in electrotype in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum. By Barclay V. Head, Esq. From the Author.

Mr. Henfrey exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Simkiss, of Wolverhampton, a pattern for a sixpence (commonly called a ninepence) of Oliver Cromwell, dated 1658, and reading on the obverse ANG. SCO. HIB. PRO.; weight, 86·5 grains,—a forgery cast from one of the preceding, with the following curious additions made in the mould: obverse, under the bust, a cap of Liberty and an anchor; reverse, on either side of the shield, the numerals I.—X.; weight, 99 grains,—also a cast from the usual shilling of 1658.

Major Hay exhibited two copper coins of Aesernia, in Magna Græcia, one of Dyrrhachium, and one of Samos.

Mr. Golding exhibited a coin of Neapolis, in Campania, and a Roman silver coin of the Cæsia family.

Mr. Cochran Patrick communicated a paper “On the Annals of the Coinage of Scotland, from the Death of Alexander III., in 1286, to that of James I., in 1487.” See vol. xii., p. 83.

JUNE 20, 1872.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society. The Council regret to have to announce their loss by death of the four following Members:—

Henry Frederic Holt, Esq.

John Francis William, Count de Salis.

Edward Wigan, Esq., and

Frederic Wilson, Esq.;

and, by resignation, of the seven following Members:—

Henry Cane, Esq.

Charles Clay, Esq., M.D.
 Sutton F. Corkran, Esq.
 H. W. Rolfe, Esq.
 Mrs. Leigh Sotheby.
 Captain Stubbs, R.H.A., and
 Captain F. C. P. Turner.

On the other hand they have much pleasure in recording the election of the sixteen following Members :—

W. R. Baker, Esq.	Henry Septimus Gill, Esq.
P. Berney Brown, Esq.	Henry James, Esq.
Henry Christie, Esq.	Alfred J. Lawson, Esq.
Henry Clark, Esq.	K. M. Nicholson, Esq.
Rev. A. H. Cummings.	R. W. Cochran Patrick, Esq.
Arthur John Evans, Esq.	Joseph B. Ripley, Esq.
Rev. R. V. French, D.D.	E. T. Rogers, Esq.
Percy Gardner, Esq., M.A.	Henry Webb, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore, as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1871	5	136	38	179
Since elected	—	16	—	16
	5	152	38	195
Deceased	—	4	—	4
Resigned	—	7	—	7
Erased	—	4	—	4
Members, June, 1872	5	137	38	180

We proceed to give a brief notice of our deceased Members, John Francis William, Count de Salis, and Edward Wigan, Esq.

Mr. de Salis, who died at his residence, Hillingdon Place, Uxbridge, on the 7th August, 1871, of paralysis, with which he was seized about three years previous to his death, was the son of Peter John Fane de Salis, upon whose father the title of

Count of the Holy Roman Empire was conferred in 1748, by the Emperor Francis, in reward for his services as Envoy and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Queen Anne. Our deceased Member was a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, and only forty-five years of age at the time of his death.

He was an ardent lover of the science of Numismatics, and an unwearied student of the Roman branch of the subject. He amassed an immense collection of Roman coins, ranging from the earliest specimens of the Consular period down to the latest Byzantine, together with the Merovingian, Ostro-Gothic, and Visi-Gothic imitations. His collection, consisting of many thousand specimens, he presented to our National Museum, and he was for years a daily frequenter of the Medal Room, where he spent his time in perfecting the arrangement of the Roman Series according to a system of his own.

In the Consular Cabinets he adopted, with certain modifications, the chronological arrangement of Mommsen and the Duke de Blacas, entirely abolishing the old alphabetical classification according to families. The coins of the Empire he arranged under the mints at which they were struck, dividing the coins of each Emperor into geographical classes according to their mint-marks, and in default of these, by their style and fabric. The barbarous imitations of Roman coins he treated in a similar way; and upon this class, which forms the link between the Roman and Mediæval money, he bestowed especial study. We may here mention that it is a matter of great regret to all who take an interest in Roman coins that Mr. de Salis did not live to complete the great work which he had in hand, in which he intended to explain his reasons for assigning certain coins to certain localities by their fabric. The authorities of the Medal Room, respecting the scientific principles on which Mr. de Salis based his arrangement, have maintained his classification intact, although it possesses certain disadvantages for a public collection, inasmuch as it is not always easy to find a given coin at a moment's notice; it is, however, acknowledged by all that the

system is the only really scientific one, all that is needed being a thorough index to it, which we hope some day to see completed. Had Mr. de Salis been spared, he would doubtless have furnished some such index in the work upon which he was engaged. He contributed many valuable papers to our own Chronicle and to the French Revue, and his loss will be deplored by Numismatists, not only in England, but throughout Europe.

The death of the late Mr. Edward Wigan, which took place at Hastings on June 30th, 1871, in the forty-ninth year of his age, has left an irreparable gap in the small body of numismatic collectors, among whom he stood pre-eminent. Though he could not be classed among the ranks of literary Numismatists, and though he never contributed any papers to numismatic literature, he made his name great as one of the most enterprising and enthusiastic of collectors. With a full appreciation of the historical value of a coin, apart from its beauty of design or its excellence of execution, and with highly cultivated taste, he never hesitated to add to his cabinets any pieces which might prove of value to the numismatic student. His collections embraced nearly the entire range of numismatic study, consisting of Greek, Roman, Jewish, Bactrian, English, and miscellaneous coins. Many portions of his collections were materially assisted, if not in some cases founded, by the acquirement of the cabinets of well-known coin collectors. His Roman gold was formed from the finest collections of the last century, the cabinets of Pembroke, Devon, and Thomas having furnished many of the finest specimens, to which was added the collection of the late M. Dupré, chiefly coins of the greatest rarity. The Roman large brass, also much enriched by coins from the cabinets of the late M. Dupré, are magnificent. The Jewish series is based on the collections of M. de Sauley, and the Bactrian on those of Mr. Gibbs; while the collection of his uncle, the late Mr. Wigan, of East Malling, materially added to

his stores. Of all his collections, the only two which at present have been thoroughly studied and laid before the public are the Roman gold and the Jewish. With an unbounded liberality he presented, in 1865, to the Trustees of the British Museum, nearly the whole of the series of the Roman gold, with the exception of the *quinarii*. The great value of this collection, both numismatically and intrinsically, and the number of the coins required for the Department of Coins and Medals, have been laid before numismatic students in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle (vol. xix., 1865), whilst the Jewish coins have been published in Madden's "History of Jewish Coinage" (London, 1864).

On the death of Mr. Wigan, his entire collection was purchased by Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent, and the pick of the Greek and Roman portions has subsequently been acquired by the Department of Coins in the British Museum, by means of a special Treasury Grant of £10,000, the whole of which sum will, however, have to be returned to the Treasury by means of an annual deduction to be made from the usual Grant for the purchase of coins and medals.

The Council are glad to be able to congratulate the Society on the satisfactory condition of its finances.

The Treasurer's Report is as follows :—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1871, to June, 1872.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 41	29	11	0	By Balance from last statement	205	3 8
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 42	30	10	9	„ Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	47	15 0
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 43	26	13	9	„ Dividends on £305 17s. from July, 1869, to July, 1871, per Mr. Vaux	17	19 11
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 44	38	2	10	„ Mr. C. R. Taylor, for Chronicles	10	10 0
„ Mr. J. F. Lees, for Engraving	32	18	0	„ Entrance Fees	12	12 0
„ Mr. Vaux, Rent to Christmas	10	0	0	„ Annual Subscriptions	138	12 0
„ Mr. Head, for Postage, &c.	3	2	6			
„ Ditto paid Dulau & Co.	0	12	0			
„ Messrs. J. Davy & Sons, for Printing	2	4	0			
„ Fire Insurance on £500.	0	15	0			
„ Mr. Head, for Postage, &c.	0	17	6			
„ Mr. Vaux, Rent and Expenses to Midsummer	12	0	0			
„ Messrs. Wells & Grant, for Bookbinding	1	4	0			
„ Collector, for Commission and Postage	7	3	4			
„ Treasurer, for Postage and Stamps—two years	0	14	6			
„ Balance	236	3	5			
	£432	12	7		£432	12 7
				By Balance in hand	236	3 5
				J. FREDERICK NECK, HON. TREASURER.		

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

S. BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, Hon. D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.G.S.

Treasurer.

J. F. NECK, Esq.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

W. BLADES, Esq.

Members of the Council.

THOMAS JAMES ARNOLD, Esq., F.S.A.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

SIR HENRY DRYDEN, BART.

PERCY GARDNER, Esq., M.A.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq.

MAJOR HAY, H.E.I.C.S.

R. STUART POOLE, Esq.

REV. ASSHETON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.

J. S. SMALLFIELD, Esq.

J. WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1872.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON,

DECEMBER, 1872.

An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution. (O.M.)=Original Member.

- ALLAN, REV. WILLIAM, M.A., St. Asaph Villa, Leamington.
- ALLEN, WILLIAM, ESQ., Sunnyside, South End, Dorking.
- ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES, ESQ., F.S.A., 1, Greville Place, N.W.
- *BABINGTON, REV. PROF. CHURCHILL, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.
- BACON, G. MACKENSIE, ESQ., M.R.C.S. and M.D., Lunatic Asylum, Fulbourn, Cambridge.
- BAKER, W. R., ESQ., Bayfordbury, Hertford.
- BAYLEY, E. CLIVE, ESQ., H.E.I.C.S., India.
- (O. M.) BERGNE, JOHN B., ESQ., F.S.A., Foreign Office, Downing Street.
- BIRCH, SAMUEL, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.
- BLADES, WILLIAM, ESQ., 11, Abchurch Lane, *Librarian*.
- *BRIGGS, ARTHUR, ESQ., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.
- BROWN, P. BERNEY, ESQ., St. Alban's.
- BUNBURY, EDWARD H., ESQ., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.
- BURNS, EDWARD, ESQ., 25, Charlotte Street, Edinburgh.
- BUSH, COLONEL TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de l'Orangerie, Le Havre.
- CAMERINO, CARLOS, ESQ.
- CAVE, LAURENCE TRENT, ESQ., 75, Chester Square.
- CHAMBERS, MONTAGUE, ESQ., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.
- CHRISTIE, HENRY, ESQ., 45, Arlington Square, Islington.
- CLARK, HENRY, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A., 2, Arundel Gardens, Kensington Park, W.
- COOMBS, ARTHUR, ESQ., M.A., High West Street, Dorchester.
- *CORINTHWAITE, REV. TULLIE, M.A., Forest, Walthamstow.

CUMMINGS, REV. A. H., Gunwalloe Vicarage, Helston, Cornwall.
 CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL A., 18, Clarendon Road, Kensington.

DAVIDSON, JOHN, Esq., 14, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner.
 DAVIES, WILLIAM RUSHER, Esq., Market Place, Wallingford.
 DOUGLAS, CAPTAIN R. J. H., Junior United Service Club.
 DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

EADES, GEORGE, Esq., Evesham, Worcestershire.
 ENNISKILLEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, HON. D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.,
 M.R.I.A., Florence Court, Enniskillen, Ireland, *Vice-President*.
 EVANS, ARTHUR J., Esq., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
 EVANS, JOHN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead,
 and 65, Old Bailey, *Secretary*.
 EVANS, SEBASTIAN, Esq., LL.D., 145, Highgate, Birmingham.

FARROW, MORLEY, Esq., M.R.S.L., 23, Clifton Gardens, Maida Hill,
 and Bridgewick Hall, Chapel, near Halstead, Essex.
 FERGUSON, JAMES, Esq., 5, Fingal Place, Edinburgh.
 FEUARDENT, GASTON, Esq., 61, Great Russell Street.
 FONROBERT, JULES, Esq., 103, Leipziger Street, Berlin.
 FOSTER, JAMES MURRAY, Esq., F.R.C.P.E., Collumpton, Devon.
 FOX, GENERAL, Addison Road, Kensington.
 FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 103, Victoria St.
 FRENCH, REV. R. V., D.D., Grammar School, Huntingdon.
 FRENTZEL, RUDOLPH, Esq., 28, New Broad Street.
 FREUDENTHAL, W., Esq., M.D., 2, Gördelinger Street, Brunswick.

GARDNER, PERCY, Esq., M.A., British Museum.
 GILL, HENRY SEPTIMUS, Esq., Tiverton.
 GOLDING, CHARLES, Esq., 16, Blomfield Terrace.
 GREENWELL, REV. WILLIAM, M.A., F.S.A., Durham.
 GRUEBER, HERBERT A., Esq., British Museum.
 *GUEST, EDWIN, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

GUTHRIE, COL. CHARLES SETON, 107, Great Russell Street.

HARDY, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., Record Office, Fetter Lane.
 HAY, MAJOR, H.E.I.C.S., 7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street.
 HEAD, BARCLAY VINCENT, Esq., British Museum, *Secretary*.
 HENFREY, HENRY WILLIAM, Esq., 75, Victoria Street.
 HEWARD, PETER, Esq., Baidon Lodge, Markfield, Leicester.
 HOLT, HENRY FRED. WILLIAM, Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Tamsay,
 Formosa.

HUNT, JOHN, Esq., 22, Lancaster Gate.

HUNT, J. MORTIMER, Esq., 156, New Bond Street.

JAMES, HENRY, Esq., Kingswood, Watford.

JENNINGS, ROBERT, Esq., 23, East Park Terrace, Southampton.

JOHNSTON, W. H., Esq., 407, Strand.

JONES, JAMES COVE, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley, Wellesbourne, Warwick.

JONES, W. STAVENHAGEN, Esq., 2, Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn.

JONES, THOMAS, Esq., Llanerchrugog Hall, Wales, and 2, Plowden's Buildings, Temple.

JUDD, CHARLES, Esq., Stoneleigh Villas, Chestnut Road, Tottenham.

KEARY, CHARLES FRANCIS, Esq., British Museum.

*LAMBERT, GEORGE, Esq., 10, Coventry Street.

LANG, ROBERT HAMILTON, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Cyprus.

LAWSON, ALFRED J., Esq., Imperial Ottoman Bank, Smyrna.

LEATHER, C. J., Esq., North Grounds Villa, Portsea, Portsmouth.

*LEWIS, REV. SAMUEL SAVAGE, Esq., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., Esq., 462, New Oxford Street.

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